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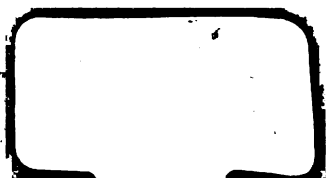
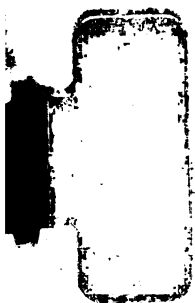
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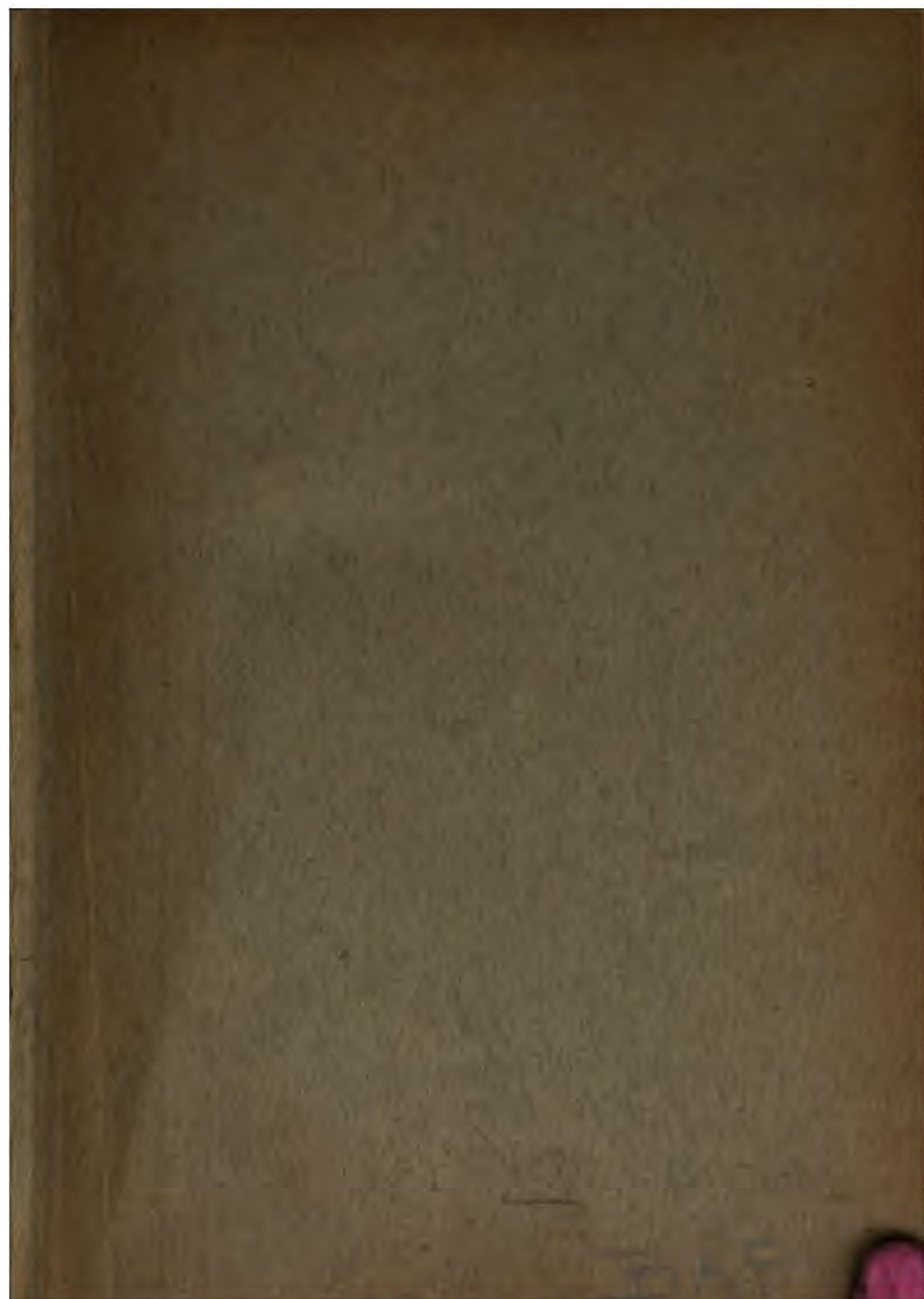
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11

THE HISTORY  
OF  
ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

*The second portion of this work, "THE HISTORY  
OF MODERN CIVILIZATION," is in the press,  
and will shortly be published.*

January 10th, 1889.

# THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

A HAND-BOOK BASED UPON M. GUSTAVE DUCOUDRAY'S  
"HISTOIRE SOMMAIRE DE LA CIVILISATION"

EDITED BY  
REV. J. VERSCHOYLE, M.A.

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ROY W. B.  
CLUB  
Y. A. B. L.

## PREFACE.

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THE civilization of Greece, which was the outcome of individual thought, whether embodied in literature, art, or life, the civilization of Rome, which was the outcome of corporate action, whether embodied in conquest, organization, or administration, are most fully understood in their influence on the development of mankind when viewed side by side with the earlier civilizations of the East. Such a comprehensive view of ancient civilization this handbook is intended to facilitate, especially for students in the more advanced classes of schools. It may, perhaps, be useful to older students also, as a grouping together of knowledge already acquired.

The present work is based on M. Ducoudray's "*Histoire Sommaire de la Civilisation*." The translation was carefully made by an experienced hand; but the work cannot now be called a translation, for a large part, especially the accounts of Greek literature and art, and Latin literature, has been rewritten for the sake of greater accuracy and fuller information.

In rewriting as well as in correcting, I have freely used the works of the best authorities. For Egypt I have used

the works of Wilkinson, Rawlinson, Birch, and Kenrick ; for Babylon and Assyria, the works of Layard, Rawlinson, Oppert ; for Greece, the works of Curtius, Grote, and Jebb ; for Rome, the works of Mommsen and Merivale. I have also found much trustworthy information in the works of MM. Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, which I have consulted in the excellent English translations of Mr. Walter Armstrong, viz. : " Ancient Egyptian Art," " Art in Chaldea and Assyria," " Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus."

THE EDITOR.

*January, 1889.*

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# A HANDBOOK OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION.

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## BOOK I. THE NATIONS OF THE EAST.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION.

**SUMMARY:** History — The Sources of History — Tradition, Monuments, Accounts in Writing—Civilization—Prehistoric Man—The Stone Age —The Bronze Age—The Iron Age—The Civilized Races—The Divisions of the White Race—The General Progress of Civilization—The Divisions of History.

**NOTES:** Civilization—The Implements of the Stone Age.

**HISTORY** deals with the life of the human race on the earth; it treats of the civilization of the nations in which the development of mankind has gone on. It enables us to realize the nature of ancient and mediæval societies, reveals their origin, describes their progress, and accounts for their rise and fall. It shows us how our life is the outcome of the acts of past ages; and by widening our experience enables us to play our part so that the life of mankind may advance steadily and surely in the progress towards perfection.

*The Sources of History: Tradition, Monuments.*—Evidence may be oral, or supplied by a material object, or written. We have therefore three sources of history: traditions, monuments, and written records. When evidence has been transmitted verbally from generation to generation it is called tradition. In its nature

tradition tends to become in a great degree inaccurate ; each person or age which hands on the original statement of fact adds something to it or subtracts something from it, according to particular bias. It becomes thus, not a record of facts, but an imaginative or poetical account of them. Still often tradition is found trustworthy in the general characteristics of an age—for instance, the social conditions of the different classes in Homer—but as regards particular facts which rest on the evidence of tradition, it is almost impossible to discern what groundwork of truth, if any, resides in them.

The study of monuments has become a special science, Archæology, which often engrosses the whole life of a man interested in the history of the past. Archæology has filled museums with fragments of monuments, and with relics of previous generations, such as implements, weapons, and jewels ; and by fortunate discoveries in the countries themselves it informs us how the ancients built their temples and houses, their roads and bridges ; so that thanks to it we see and touch objects belonging to the earliest races, and thus learn what industries they had and what art.

Scientific men also collect coins and medals, and these form a distinct branch of archæology, a special science, Numismatics. This science stands midway between monumental and written evidence, for coins and medals bear the superscription as well as the image.

*Accounts in Writing.*—We approach nearer to certainty when men contemporary or nearly contemporary with the events they describe have written an account of them. A most important branch of contemporary written evidence is that furnished by inscriptions, the study of which is known as Epigraphy. In early times nearly all written records were cut in stone or bronze. Accordingly it often happens that most important laws and official enactments have come down to us ; and not only these, but private contracts and the actions of private individuals, recorded in this manner, have survived to our day, so that we get glimpses into certain departments of the life of the people, which naturally are not to be found in the professed historians of the times.



Other kinds of contemporary evidence, besides regular histories, are Annals, where important events are merely registered year by year; Memoirs, where contemporaries have confined themselves to recording the events they had witnessed or in which they had taken part. It has become the work of modern learning to verify these records the one by the other, by the discoveries of the archæologist, which increase almost daily, and by every possible means of information. The study of old documents, charters, title-deeds, and family records has now become an important source of information, and has even formed a new science, Palæography.

History, rightly so called, which is at the same time a science and an art, collects all available information, from tradition, from monuments, from annals, chronicles, and memoirs; it criticises, weighs, and compares evidence; it seeks for the causes of events and their consequences, and from them compiles an animated and well-reasoned narrative. As our guides through the centuries, ancient and modern, we have many genuine historians, who have in a sense resuscitated the past.

*Civilization.*—The word civilization is modern, though the thing it represents belongs to ancient as well as modern times. It includes the whole political, social, economic, intellectual, and moral development of humanity.\*

\* *Civilization.*—Progress and development are the fundamental ideas contained in the word civilization. What is this progress, what is this development? The etymology of the word seems to answer these questions in a clear and satisfactory manner: it indicates that it is the improvement of civil life rightly so called, the development of society, of the relations of men towards each other. This is in fact the first idea that occurs to the mind when the word civilization is pronounced; instantly the extension, the greatest activity, and the best organisation of social existence presents itself to us; on the one hand the increasing production of sources of wealth and of well-being amongst a population, on the other a more equitable distribution of that wealth and of that well-being amongst individuals. But this development of social life is not all; it does not in itself contain all the meaning of the word civilization. To this important element another has to be added: the development of individual life, of domestic life, the development of man himself, of his faculties, sentiments, ideas. And it is not only these two points that constitute civilization; but their simultaneousness, their close and swift

*Prehistoric Man.*—Prehistoric archæology may be divided into four epochs, named from the material used in the implements of each epoch: the Paleolithic, when rude stone implements were in use; the Neolithic, when polished stone was the material employed; the Bronze, when bronze was in vogue, the Iron, when iron. Modern science has established the antiquity of man on the earth; but it is not within the scope of this work to discuss the geological evidence of the theories founded upon it. This arrangement of the prehistoric past into epochs is not a modern achievement. Hesiod (850 B.C.) speaks of the priority of the use of bronze to iron; and Lucretius plainly distinguishes the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages in their accepted scientific order.



Flint  
Spearhead.

*The Stone Age.*—The Stone Age has two divisions, the Paleolithic and the Neolithic. In the first of these epochs, the Paleolithic, man shared Europe with the cave bear, the woolly-haired rhinoceros and other extinct animals. In the second, the Neolithic or polished stone age, the implements and weapons of stone were brought to a very high point of perfection, but no metal seems to have been known except gold. The implements of the Paleolithic age found in the drift are mostly of flint, and of the rudest description; while those of the Neolithic are beautifully finished, and evidently belong to the same people and period as do the megalithic remains.\*

To the polished stone age, the Neolithic, we refer those pre-

union, their action on one another, are indispensable to its perfection. (Guizot, "Histoire de la Civilization," vol. i.).

\* *The Implements of the Stone Age, &c.*—Implements of bone, of reindeer horns, and of stag horns, combined with flint, have been found in the caves that have been explored. The cave man had already developed the first rudiments of art, for we find drawings of the chase on the bones of the reindeer he had killed. There was also, as seen in the care for the dead, some dim intuition of personal immortality. The study of the trepanned skulls of man in the Neolithic age points in the same direction.

historic remains, the cromlechs or large stone chambers ; the dolmens, which probably hide the tombs of chiefs ; and the menhirs or upright stones, which are often found close to the dolmens.

These megalithic monuments are not confined to Great Britain and France ; a great number of them have been also found in Holland and Hanover, on the coasts of the Baltic, in Mecklenburg, and Prussian Pomerania. They abound in Denmark and in the southern part of Scandinavia. They have been observed in lands as remote as Tartary, Siberia,



Bronze Bracelet found in the Swiss Lakes.



Dagger, Danish Bronze.

the Caucasus, Palestine, India, and Africa. The majority of objects found under the dolmens, whether arms or ornaments, are in stone and in flint, and it is probable that the race interred there used almost exclusively weapons and utensils of such materials.

*The Bronze Age.*—Bronze was the metal that first enabled men to utilise all the resources of nature. The copper and tin ores melted together produced bronze, which was more generally useful than copper. The long period that succeeded the Polished Stone Age has therefore been called the Bronze Age. Armed with a comparatively hard metal, man was able to cut wood, to build dwelling places, to dig and excavate the earth, and to encounter the wild beasts more successfully. Bronze therefore continued to be used until much later, even after the discovery of iron, and

many of the savage nations in historic times still used bronze weapons and implements.

The curious lake cities which have so much excited the curiosity of archæologists are traced back to this period. In the Swiss lakes, and afterwards in those of Bavaria, Austria, and the higher parts of Italy and Savoy, the remains of piles, which were used to support houses built above the waters, have been found.

Houses were also erected on marshes and ponds. At the bottom of the lakes and marshes amongst the remains of the piles a quantity of tools have been discovered: axes, knives, bronze fish-hooks, pins and bracelets—mixed, it must be owned, with flint and bone implements. It has therefore been surmised that the lake dwellings date back even to the Polished Stone Age, though it must be remembered that stone implements continued to be used even during the Bronze Age, for one age overlapped the other. Fragments of pottery and bones of domestic animals have added additional proof to the proofs already collected of the existence of numerous families who lived on the lakes. They were protected by their position against the attacks of wild beasts, and the fish from the lakes provided them with abundant food.

*The Iron Age.*—On the discovery of iron that metal superseded bronze for weapons, axes, and knives; but bronze was still in use for ornaments and for those parts of weapons where a hard and cutting edge was not required. The primitive founderies consisted of trenches dug along a slope that was exposed to the wind.\* In the tombs of Hallstadt, near Salzburg, in Austria, a quantity of daggers and swords were found, with various ornaments, in which bronze and iron were mixed.† Bronze vases too, pottery which gave evidence of great skill in fictile art, and golden jewellery were discovered mixed with the iron work. Other tombs in

\* L. Figuier, "Primitive Man."

† The use of iron, which the Egyptians possessed 2,500 years before the Christian era, only penetrated into Greece in the fifteenth century B.C., into Italy probably in the twelfth, into Gaul in the seventh. It was not until the Christian era that it reached Denmark and Sweden.

Lombardy, in Savoy, and in the lake dwellings have also furnished us with a great many implements dating from the earliest period of the Iron Age.

From the beginning of the Iron Age man possessed the great instrument with which he was to overcome all kinds of resistance. Iron first enabled him to develop towards the high state of civilization that modern nations now possess. With the use of iron societies, rightly so called, commence and history opens.

*The Civilised Races.*—Modern science has also directed its attention to the subject of races, and anthropology has issued in studies which have not, however, yet resulted in a decisive conclusion.

Without dwelling on discussions which belong to the natural history of man, we have only to point out the varieties of the human race that have actually been civilized. The commonest and most convenient distinction is the physical. The black or negro race, which predominates in Africa, with receding forehead, oily black skin, and crisped hair, must be placed on one side. Although capable of being softened, regulated, in short humanized, it has never been civilized. It has no history.

In Asia we find the Mongol type, with prominent cheek bones and small oblique eyes. This is the yellow race. This race has attained, particularly in China, a certain degree of civilization, but it seems not to have known the meaning of progress. During thousands of years Chinese civilization has remained immovable, and the information respecting it is not sufficient to enable us to estimate its value.

In America the copper or red race has continually receded before the Europeans, and cannot be counted amongst the civilized races.

It is the white race that has, as it were, lighted and transmitted from country to country the "lamp of life," of which the Roman poet wrote, and which has been described by the rather old-fashioned figure of the "torch of civilization." Whether pure or mixed, the white race has formed great nations, raised monuments, perfected art, industry, and laws. It has learned to control, rule,

and teach itself, and has thus enabled man to attain his proper dignity, to approach, that is, the likeness of God who created him.

*The Divisions of the White Race.*—Tradition, archæological researches, the comparison of languages, all combine to place the first habitation of the white race in the highlands of Asia. It was there that, after the deluge chronicled in the legends of all Eastern nations, mankind dispersed, and formed the three chief branches of the white race, the families of Ham, Shem, and Japhet.\*

The greater part of the Hamites abandoned Asia at an early date, and receding before the children of Shem, colonised Africa. The Egyptians were probably the most important branch of this family, which is distinguished by its early progress in material civilization.

The Shemites, or Semites, founded several celebrated nations, the Assyrian, Hebrew, Syrian, Phœnician. But, if we except the Jews, the Arabs are now the only representatives of the pure Semitic race, and they alone have retained the taste for a patriarchal and tribal life.

The descendants of Japhet, recognized by science as the Aryans, are also called Indo-Europeans. In fact the Aryans divided. The Iranians, marching towards the west, settled in the table-land of Persia or Iran, and thence proceeded to the Caucasus, and afterwards to Europe. The Medes, Persians, and later on the European nations, sprang from this family.† Blended with inferior races, like the Mongol, they formed the Turanians, a Scythic race, which included many different populations. These have now disappeared, but have given birth to the Turks, to the inhabitants of the steppes that border the Aral Sea, of the banks of the Volga, of the Uralian chain, and, lastly, to the Finns, the Laplanders, &c.

The second important branch of the Aryans, or Indians, descended by the Punjaub into the southern peninsula, which derives its

\* Modern science has retained the names which the Bible has transmitted to us.

† The Iranian type appears to be better preserved amongst the Persians than elsewhere, and in the Caucasus the finest specimens of the white race are said to have been found. This race is therefore named the Caucasian, although the Caucasus is not its cradle.

name from them : Hindustan, the land of the Hindoos. It is now proved that the population of India and of Europe have a common origin, and that the European languages are of the same parentage as Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos.

*The General Progress of Civilisation.*—The first really civilised societies had their seats in the valleys of the great rivers—the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates. A hot climate, fertile soil, abundant water, all tended to facilitate culture and life in those prosperous regions. We have little information respecting the social state of ancient India, but there is an ample store of detailed, if not complete, records of the civilization of the peoples of Egypt, of Chaldæa, and Assyria. To these nations must be added the inhabitants of the Jordan valley, the Hebrews, the people of the Syrian coasts, the Phœnicians, and the inhabitants of the plateau of Iran, the Medo-Persians, who at a later period acquired great power.

European nations did not form themselves into organised states until long after the nations of Asia and Africa. But when they had once succeeded in so doing they made much more rapid progress towards perfection. Greek civilization spread all over the East, and afterwards Roman civilization embraced at the same time both East and West.

Although the empire of Roman civilization extended so far, only a small portion of the world profited by it. There was little real improvement except in the countries that bordered the Mediterranean. But four centuries after the Christian era the Roman Empire fell ; new races poured in from the north of Europe and from the Arabian peninsula. The range of history was enlarged.

Then followed a period of great confusion, then the feudal chaos, afterwards the struggle of the Northern races, who had embraced Christianity, with the Southern and Eastern nations, who had become Mohammedans. Nevertheless, from the twelfth century order began to reappear in Europe. Kingdoms organized themselves, and progress steadily continued until the fifteenth century, when it became very rapid.

We might almost say that at this epoch a curtain was torn

away, revealing to man the second half of his dwelling-place, the New World. Intelligence seemed to regain possession of herself, and science continued from century to century extending her dominions. In four hundred years the face of Europe was changed, American society created, and now in our time Europeans are regenerating Africa and Asia.

Starting from the East, civilisation returns to the East, completing, though she still has a great deal to accomplish, the wonderful circle in which history leads us from surprise to surprise, surpassing in interest the most glowing and varied drama. Light came from the East, but it is the West that brings it back to the East to-day more brilliant than it had ever been before.

*The Divisions of History.*—The introduction of Christianity being the starting point of a complete transformation of the world, chronology has been regulated by that event. All the ages which preceded it have been comprised in Ancient History, and those which followed in Modern History.

Thus we say the year 1885 of the Christian era, writing 1835 A.D.

The Mussulman counts his years from the Hegira (the flight of Mahomet to Medina), in the year 622 of the Christian era. His era is therefore 622 years behind that of the nations of Europe, and even more, for his years are shorter, being measured by the lunar month. The year 1885 then corresponds with the year of the Hegira 1302.

Modern History has been subdivided. The long and elaborate development of modern society has filled eighteen centuries, and the period during which this development was confused and intermittent is therefore counted as an intermediate period, the Middle Ages, ending 1453 A.D., the date of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks. This date has been chosen because it coincides with the majority of the great discoveries which produced the rapid progress of the last four centuries. The time that has elapsed since 1453 has retained the name of modern history, while contemporary history is still in making from day to day.



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These divisions represent the progress of civilization and the various stages of humanity. But they cannot be compared with the ages of man without injustice. We cannot liken ancient civilization to infancy, for amongst the Greeks and the Romans it attained a high level of maturity and strength. But in many ways it was incomplete, and after its revival amongst modern nations it rose to a knowledge and mastery of nature and a moral dignity that antiquity never knew.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MONUMENTS AND ART OF EGYPT.

**SUMMARY:** Egypt, the Nile—Herodotus: the Discoveries of Modern Science—The Monuments of Egypt: the Pyramids—The Tombs at Sakkarah, Lake Moeris, the Labyrinth—The Hyksos Invasion—The New Theban Empire—The Monuments of the New Theban Empire: the Hall of Karnak, Luxor, the Ramesseum—The Grottos of Abou-Simbel—The Egyptian Religion: Worship of Animals—The Doctrines of the Egyptian Priesthood—The Destiny of Man: The Immortality of the Soul—Funerals: Judgments of the Dead: The Mummies—Political Organization—Government—Society—Manners and Customs—Morality—Agriculture—Industry—Commerce—Egyptian Art—Writing: The Hieroglyphics—Literature and Science—Character of Egyptian Civilization.

**NOTES:** The Hall of Karnak—The Colossi at Abou-Simbel—The Confessions of the Dead.

*Egypt: the Nile.*—Near the point where Africa approaches Asia lies a narrow valley walled in by two ranges of mountains, enclosed on the farther side by two deserts, and fertilized by the periodical inundations of a mighty river. This long and narrow strip of verdure, surrounded by mountains and menaced by the desert sands, is Egypt, the seat of the oldest organized society, of the first empire that acquired glory by its arms and its works of art. This is indeed the cradle of civilization.

A few years ago, the beginnings of Egyptian history and even the source of the great river that fertilizes the land of Egypt were hidden in mystery. The sources of the Nile have been at last discovered, and archæologists have now retraced the commencement of a history which is practically the commencement of all authentic history. To Speke and Grant in 1862, and to Baker

in 1864, we owe the knowledge of the lakes Victoria Nyanza and Albert Nyanza, whence come the abundant waters, that swollen by the equatorial rains, at fixed intervals overflow and fertilize with their mud the soil that borders their bed, and refresh a land which lies beneath a sky where a rain-cloud is seldom or never seen. We know, too, how the abundant harvests that regularly result from the inundations of the Nile, returning ample food to moderate labour, promoted the development of the Egyptian nation, how the Nile itself supplied to them a highway for communication, rendered doubly useful by the north winds that blow up stream more than eight months of the year, carrying the traffic up into the interior while the current carries it down, how the Arabian desert on the east and the Libyan on the west secured to them comparative immunity from invasion and opportunity for internal progress.

✓ *Herodotus : the Discoveries of Modern Science.*—In ancient times the only knowledge that travellers from Europe could obtain about Egypt, was gained from the facts they gathered by observation during their journeys, for as the Egyptian language was unknown to them they could not penetrate the mystery in which this ancient and long-isolated people loved to enshroud the record of their past.

The Greeks were deeply interested in Egypt, ascribing to it their own origin, and that of their religion and art. The Greek historian, Herodotus, who visited Egypt in the fifth century before the Christian era (460 or 455 B.C.), has left, in the second book of his history, a vivid and animated picture of the country. Herodotus unhesitatingly retailed all the stories that were told him by the Egyptian priests, but he made no secret of the fact that up to the reign of Psammetichus (604 B.C.) he merely recorded Egyptian tradition. Later on, neither Diodorus, although he lived under one of the last kings of the Grecian dynasty of the Ptolemies,\* nor the geographer, Strabo, under Augustus, was apparently better informed. An Egyptian priest, Manetho, in the third century before the Christian era, wrote in Greek a history of Egypt, but only a few fragments of it have been preserved.

\* Towards 50 B.C.

It is in the monuments of Egypt, with their vast array of inscriptions, and secondarily in the papyrus MSS., that the real history of Egypt is to be found. The variety and importance of the monuments was first brought before the modern world by the labours of the scientific commission which accompanied General Bonaparte to Egypt in 1798. The history, however, still remained a sealed book.

One of the prizes of Napoleon's expedition, a black basalt stone, disinterred at Rosetta in 1798, and now in the British Museum, bore three parallel and horizontal inscriptions, all quite distinct. One was in hieroglyphics, the second in the characters called demotic or popular, the third in Greek. Although a great many scientific men exhausted their skill upon this trilingual inscription, which was a triple inscription of the same text, no one could make the Greek characters exactly apply to the hieroglyphic signs. Champollion was the first to obtain any success, as early as 1812, but further progress was largely aided by the labours of Dr. Young in 1819. In 1822 Champollion explained the principle of the mysterious writing in a letter to M. Dacier, permanent secretary to the Académie des Inscriptions. To Champollion also is due the construction of a grammar and vocabulary of Ancient Egyptian, and he may fairly be called the founder of modern Egyptology.

The way opened by Champollion was followed by a crowd of savants, who, in England, in Germany, and in France, have greatly advanced the knowledge of Egyptian antiquities.

Egyptology takes an increasingly important place in the estimation of the learned world,\* and if the results it has obtained are yet far from complete, it has already furnished us with material enough to enable us to retrace a sufficiently accurate picture of Egyptian civilisation.

*The Monuments of Egypt: the Pyramids.*—Protected from invasion by the same deserts that isolated them, the people who came from

\* England boasts of the work of Wilkinson and Birch. Germany, of Lepsius and de Brugsch. The French school is numerous, including, in addition to De Rouge and Mariette, Lenormant, J. T. Ampère, Maspero, &c.

Asia and settled in the Nile valley applied themselves to the regulation of the periodical inundations, and to the distribution of the water. They built towns on the hillocks, in order that the water should not reach them ; and afterwards, with the stones that the two mountain ranges of Libya and Arabia contain in abundance, and by the means of transit afforded by the Nile, they erected monuments that have defied the course of the centuries.

On the left bank of the Nile, near the site of ancient Memphis, stands the Sphinx, a colossal statue hewn from the solid rock, with the body of a lion and the head of a man, over sixty feet in height and one hundred and forty in length, the paws projecting some fifty feet more. The sculpture of Egypt was chiefly symbolical, and in the Sphinx the lion's body symbolized strength, the man's head intelligence. Near to Jizeh, and not far from this strange monument, rise the gigantic masses of the Pyramids, prodigious yet regular piles of enormous stones placed in tiers, a wonderful triumph of the works of man over the strength of time. The great pyramid is the loftiest building in the world, being originally 482 feet high. Successive dilapidations have now reduced it, indeed, to about 457 feet. It is higher than the steeple at Strasburg, or that of St. Stephen at Vienna, or than the dome of St. Peter's, at Rome. "Suppose," says Ampère, "the pyramid to be formed of hollow tin, it could be placed over St. Peter's, at Rome, and the church would disappear like a nutmeg beneath a juggler's cup."

The largest pyramid is called after Cheops (Suphis I.), the two others are rather smaller, that of Cephren 456 feet, and that of Mycerinus 218 feet. These strange monuments are probably the oldest buildings now standing in the world, and were constructed at least four thousand years before the Christian era, in the period of the old Memphian monarchy. "To the pyramid of Cheops," says Lepsius, "is fastened the first link of our monumental history, not only for Egyptian but for universal history."

But the pyramids of Jizeh are not the only ones which still remain in Egypt. About a hundred stand in the Delta, and some of them are higher than the pyramid of Mycerinus. The pyramids of Jizeh were majestic tombs erected for themselves by despotic

sovereigns ; and the scientific theory, which would consider the pyramid a kind of observatory, is quite unfounded.

*The Tombs at Sakkarah, Lake Moeris, the Labyrinth.*—The tombs which have been unearthed near Sakkarah consist of a series of small pylons, or stepped pyramids, that are built so near together as to form narrow streets, blind alleys, a veritable city of the dead.



The Great Sphinx.

The Egyptians called their tombs “eternal houses,” and the rich decoration in the sepulchral chambers, the innumerable pictures which covered the walls, justify the name. Still, in these mortuary buildings the body is carefully hidden ; a very deep vertical well leads to a horizontal passage, ending in a room where the monolithic sarcophagus is found.

It was probably in the time of the middle monarchy, and during

the twelfth dynasty, that the valley now called Fayoum was prepared to receive the waters of the Nile, and a wonderful basin known by the name of Lake Moeris preserved the overflow from the Nile, and enabled the Egyptians to redistribute the water from the lake in such a way as to correct the irregularities and caprices of the inundations. It is said that two pyramids were erected in the middle of the lake, each surmounted by a seated colossus, one of which, Herodotus tells us, represented the King who built them, the other, the Queen his wife. Modern savants identify this ingenious king with Amenemhe III.

To the west of the lake, on a small tableland, stood the Labyrinth, an immense palace, which Herodotus described as the wonder of Egypt. This palace was about 667 feet long, and contained three thousand rooms, half of which were subterranean. Wonderfully intricate passages joined these thousands of rooms, and no one dared venture amongst them without a guide. In 1848 the German explorer, Lepsius, discovered the ruins of this famous Labyrinth. We found, wrote he, hundreds of rooms, often very small rooms at the side of large ones, vast halls supported by small columns, joined by irregular corridors, with no distinction whether they are for entrance or exit; on this point the descriptions of Herodotus and Strabo are fully justified. As to the arrangement of the whole, it consists of three masses of buildings, surrounding a space 600 feet long by 500 feet wide. The fourth side, one of the smaller ones, is occupied by a pyramid, 800 feet wide at its base. On the east side the walls of the rooms are raised 10 feet above the ground, and from the top of the pyramid the whole plan of the edifice is visible. The Labyrinth was apparently used as both palace and temple, where statues of the divinities or of deceased kings were preserved, and probably also precious objects and sacred vestments. It was also the tomb of Amenemhe III.

Lastly, in the tombs of Beni-Hassan, opposite Hermopolis Magna, "the dead," says M. Renan, "lifts up his voice and relates his life." The thousand details of private life painted on these sepulchral walls, or mentioned in the inscriptions, have completed the

revelation of the splendour and prosperity of Egypt under the middle monarchy as fully as the exploration of the Memphian tombs has interpreted to us Egypt under the old monarchy.

*The Hyksos Invasion, the New Theban Empire.*—Fourteen dynasties, some of which lasted more than two centuries, and counted fifty or sixty kings, had already reigned, first at Memphis and afterwards at Thebes, when an invasion of Asiatic tribes profoundly disturbed Egypt, in the twentieth century before the Christian era. These were the Shepherds, or Hyksos, as the Greeks called them, a Semitic people, of whom the chief tribe, the Kheta, has, owing to recent investigation, been identified with the Hittites. This government was less barbarous than was for a long time supposed, for modern archæologists have identified monuments, especially at Tanis, as contemporary with the Shepherd Kings, who continued the Egyptian dynasties and showed themselves appreciative patrons of Egyptian art.

But the Egyptian nationality maintained itself, in the south, at Thebes, where the princes gradually regained their courage, and collected their strength, and finally began a religious war and drove out the invaders. Expelled by Aahmes, the shepherds returned to Asia, where they were followed up and defeated by the Egyptians, under Thothmes I., at the other side of the Euphrates; and Egypt, under the princes of the new Theban Monarchy, the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, once more attained a high state of prosperity. The zenith of Egypt's greatness was reached when her rule, under Thothmes III., extended from Abyssinia to the Euphrates. On the walls of his greatest building, the Temple of Karnak, Thothmes has left a record of his successes in the form of a fine bas-relief. Amenhotep III. carried the military fame of Egypt from Mesopotamia to farther Ethiopia; he was also a great builder, and is best known from his colossal statue at Thebes, the celebrated Memnon, which has been supposed to audibly salute the sun at its rising. Seti I., the Rameses, and above all Rameses II., or Miamun, whose magnificence and military power gave birth to the Grecian legend of the famous Sesostris, and who is almost certainly to be identified with the Pharaoh who oppressed the



children of Israel, frequently invaded Asia and Ethiopia, and have left as irrefragable evidence of their power the wonderful monuments at Thebes.

*The Monuments of the New Theban Empire ; the Hall of Karnak, Luxor, the Ramesseum.*—Ascending the Nile, between Kenh and



Entrance to the Tomb of Ramesses III.

Denderah, we meet the prodigious monuments of the new Theban Empire. Thebes, although deserted and devastated, astonishes even those who are most familiar with the marvels of Egyptian art. The gigantic pylons, the Sphinx alleys, the obelisks, temples, and palaces, the streets of monuments stretching for miles, verify the vast size ascribed to ancient Thebes by Diodorus and Strabo.

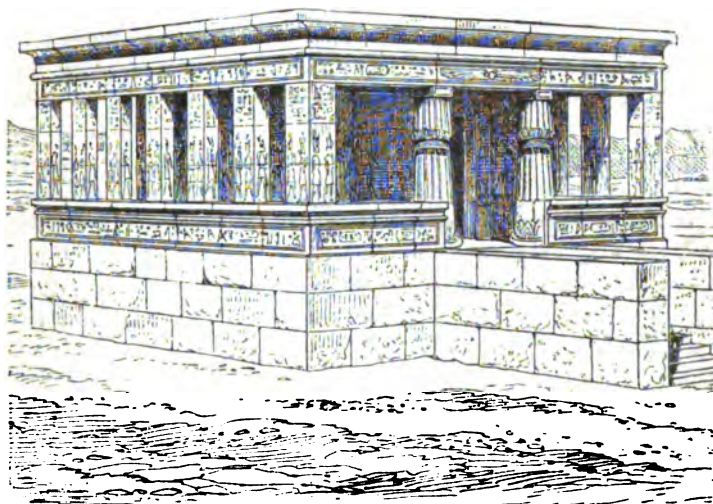
On the right bank, the hypostyle hall or hall of columns, at Karnak, first attracts attention. It is 330 feet long and 170 feet wide, with one hundred and thirty-four columns supporting a ceiling which was not less than 66 feet high in the central part. This central part rested upon twelve columns larger than the others, which resemble the Vendôme column at Paris, or the Trajan column at Rome. The ceiling has disappeared, but each of the columns that still remain upright (and few have fallen) is covered with paintings and hieroglyphics. This hall was nearly all constructed by Seti I., whose exploits are finely represented in reliefs on the walls of the edifice.\*

The ruins of Karnak divide an alley of sphinxes with rams' heads, which leads southwards and joins the palace of Luxor. Luxor still displays a number of temples, galleries, pylons, and obelisks. In the reign of Louis Philippe, one of the obelisks, from the front of the pylons of Rameses, was taken to Paris and erected in the Place de la Concorde. The obelisks are tall needles of polished granite ornamented with hieroglyphics; they were placed in pairs before the gates and the companion obelisk to that of the Place de la Concorde is still visible at Luxor, better preserved by that beautiful climate. The inscription is similar to that of the obelisk now at Paris, and is only a series of eulogistic and sacred formulas in honour of "Rameses II., son of the Sun, approved by the Sun, beneficent God, master of the world, who has enriched Thebes by his great and imperishable edifices."

The ruins of Kurneh and of the Ramesseum are on the left bank of the Nile. Several authorities have tried to identify the Ramesseum

\* *The Hall of Karnak.*—"The spectacle that is before my eyes," writes Ampère, "surpasses everything that I have seen upon earth." No, M. Wilkinson has not exaggerated, when he said that "it is the largest and most splendid ruin of ancient or modern times." Champollion, whose mind was naturally disposed to reverence all that is great, knew as well how to admire Egypt as to comprehend it; we can see that he was dazzled and almost thunderstruck at the sight of this wonder of the past. "The Egyptians," he wrote, "in the view of what I now see, conceived like men a hundred feet high, and the imagination, which in Europe soars far above our buildings, is arrested here, and falls powerless at the feet of the hundred and forty columns in the Hall of Karnak."

with the tomb of Ozymandias. Half palace, half temple, a succession of courts and halls, adorned with columns, the Ramesseum is full of the history and the glory of Rameses II. A magnificent granite colossus fifty-three feet high, represented him seated on his throne; this figure is now broken. Its foot measured more than six feet, and, says Ampère, "when I had climbed upon his arm, I seemed to have scaled a rock." Near the same spot two colossi of the King Amenhotep III. are still standing. The buildings



Egyptian Temple, situated on the Elephantine Island.

at Medinet-Abou, built by Rameses III., the great monarch of the twentieth dynasty, consist of a court surrounded by a curious peristyle, ornamented with magnificent bas-reliefs, that represent the Pharaoh's exploits in war.

Near Thebes, as near Memphis, we find the city of the dead by the side of the city of the living, excavated in the western side of the mountain. The tombs of the kings are hidden in a barren valley, on the other side of the mountain; these tombs, which are

composed of galleries and of innumerable halls, form the subjects of many legends, and are full of figures, inscriptions, and paintings.

While the ruins of Thebes supply the grandest spectacle the world affords, it is only less interesting to visit Hermonthis, the temple of Esneh, the temple of Ombos, and, most important of these, the temple at Elephantine. At Syene we find the granite quarries from whence the Egyptians hewed their colossi and their obelisks. After passing the first cataract we reach the isle of Philae, the sacred island, the last refuge of the Egyptian religion.

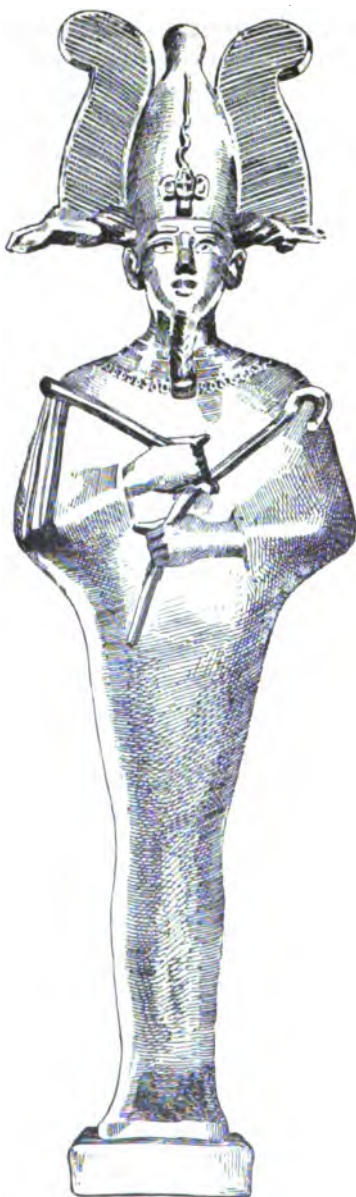
*The Grottoes of Abou-Simbel.*—Ruins are also found in Nubia, and are even closer together in some places there, evidencing the extent of the Egyptian empire. At Beit-el-Wali a temple cut in the interior of the rock contains a series of bas-reliefs representing Rameses triumphing over his enemies. At last, after many long meanderings of the Nile we come, in a wild, narrow place, upon the colossi of Abou-Simbel. Two cliffs overhang the Nile, and two temples are hewn in these cliffs. Six upright colossi are carved in the rock, on each side of the smaller temple door; they are effigies of the great Rameses and his wife. But these are children compared with the colossi in the great temple. Between the six colossi are buttresses also hewn out of the solid rock, and upon them the finest and largest existing hieroglyphics are engraved. The interior of the temples, too, when by the aid of torches we can see them, display figures of Rameses advancing against his enemies.\*

\* *The Colossi at Abou-Simbel.*—"The statues of Rameses, which stand before me, have all the decisive features of a conqueror, the vivid black of the eyes and eyebrows makes them strangely life-like, whilst the arms, folded on the breast, and the repose of the attitude, indicate abstraction. In presence of this meditation, which has lasted more than three thousand years, of the silent immutability of the marvellous figures, which support a mountain whilst they pray, we are absorbed in a religious dream. One by one I examined the paintings that decorate the three great halls and the sixteen smaller halls of the temple; paintings that are still so fresh that the Arabs say of them, 'they look as though the workmen had scarcely yet had time to wash their hands since they finished work.' I penetrate into, I lose

This rapid enumeration of the Egyptian monuments can scarcely give an idea of the archæological riches that are scattered over the beautiful Nile valley, or of the civilisation that formerly flourished from Abou-Simbel to Syene, from Syene to Thebes, from Thebes to Memphis. Those majestic witnesses of a vanished civilization are more eloquent and more convincing than any verbal record could be. Archæologists have not yet fully deciphered this immense book of stone, of which fresh pages are constantly being discovered, but the information they have already obtained has thrown a new light on the religion and customs of the people, and on the most ancient known civilization that deserves a place in the history of the human race on the earth.

*The Egyptian Religion: Worship of Animals.*—Before the discoveries of modern science, Bossuet's famous words, "Amongst the Egyptians everything was god except God Himself," were apparently as true as they were forcible. Eccentric and ridiculous if we only look at its external observances, the Egyptian religion deified everything from the stars to the commonest animals. Herodotus has left us a long description of the Egyptian ritual. He records the care with which the sacred animals were kept, fed, and embalmed. He tells us that "dead cats were carried into consecrated houses, then after they were embalmed they

myself in these subterranean dwellings. I pass from large halls to small chambers. The majestic style of the great king's work impresses me on every side. I gaze at the colossal caryatides, I walk in the midst of this roadway of giants; like them, I am noiseless, I hear their solemn silence, and at last it seems to me that they must have broken it, when they were separated from the light and the air, buried in the heart of the mountain. What could they have said to each other, in the long night which has lasted for centuries? I leave them and turn towards their brothers, by whose side they appear small. One of the heads has rolled into the sand, and lies at the feet of the king whom time has beheaded; another, which looks quite white at a little distance, seems the head of a gigantic phantom; the third is a little mutilated, but it is in a perfect state of preservation, and seen in profile is of great beauty—yes, beauty. In the features of this wonderful mas, in this fragment of mountain that a little way off is lost amongst the surrounding rocks, there is, I affirm, a marvellous charm." (Ampère, "*Recherches en Nubie*.")



Osiris.

were buried at Bubastis. Dogs were interred in consecrated rooms belonging to their respective towns, and so were ichneumons." "The crocodile is sacred in some parts of Egypt, but not in others," he continues. "In the nome of Papremis the hippopotamus is revered, but the other Egyptians do not respect it." Amongst the sacred animals he also mentions the phoenix, the serpent, and the ibis, a black bird with crow's feet and a curved beak.

But the bull Apis received more honour amongst the Egyptians than any of the other animals. This divine bull was recognised by unusual marks; he was black, with a white triangle-shaped spot on his forehead, a half moon upon his back, double hairs in his tail, and a scarabæus-shaped swelling under his tongue. The Apis had his temple, and priests who waited on him with great magnificence. His death plunged the whole of Egypt into mourning. It became necessary to find another Apis, and if his appearance were delayed every face wore an anxious look; as soon as he

was found there were great and universal rejoicings. Mariette explored the long subterranean galleries of the Serapeum at Memphis, where each Apis had its own almost royal sepulchre.

It has been thought that this eccentric worship of animals may be explained by the gratitude which the population of the country felt to those animals which are valuable through their labour, as the ox, or which are useful against vermin, as the ichneumon and the cat.

But in the opinion of a great many scientific men this worship of animals might have been a visible form of the adoration of the gods, which was justified in Egyptian theology by theories that were beyond the comprehension of the common people.

*The Doctrines of the Egyptian Priesthood.*—In theory the Egyptian priesthood seem to have held a high conception of the Deity. They believed in one only God, eternal, immutable. "He that lives in spirit, sole generating force in heaven or earth, that was not begotten."\*. But this idea of an only God, "Nuk-Pu-Nuk"—"I am that I am"—as the papyrus has it, was soon debased and complicated by the distinctions made in the Divine attributes, which in their turn were converted into personal gods. The names of Ra, Ammon, Imhotep, Ptah, Osiris were apparently different names for the same god worshipped under various aspects.

This god was evidently the Sun, so terrible yet so beneficent in a country which he alternately fertilizes and parches up.† The stages of his course were regarded as manifestations, various phases of his being. His daily round, from the moment that he rose

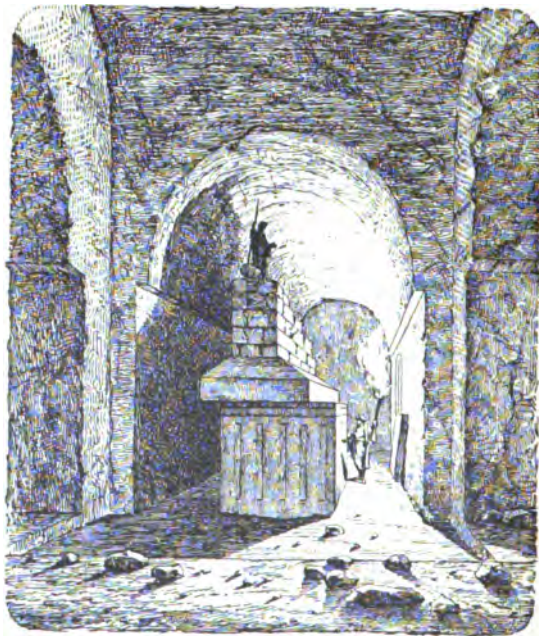
\* Maspero, "*Histoire ancienne.*"

† A funeral stele preserved at the Berlin Museum contains a prayer to the sun, which M. Rouge has thus translated: "We adore thee, O god Ra! Atoum, Kheper, Horks of the two zones. Homage to thee, Sahon, divine child, who by thine own power, daily renewest thy birth! Homage to thee who shinest from the waters of heaven to give us life. Through his divine power he has created all that exists. Homage to thee, Ra! When he awakens his rays bring life to the pure in heart. Homage to Thee, who hast created the heavens of the spheres. When he disappears his path is unknown. Homage to thee! When thou passest through the heavens the gods who approach thee thrill with joy."



above the morning horizon until he disappeared behind the western mountains, symbolized the life of the supreme god, and his struggle with darkness was the type of the struggle maintained by the god against the powers of evil.

Osiris was the solar god :—" The one being, supremely good, who waged perpetual war against Set (Typhon), the cursed one, the



Sepulchral Chamber of an Apis.

god of darkness and night." Osiris, after his disappearance in the west, passed through a mysterious region, the Shadowland, where no living man has penetrated, and he journeyed twelve hours before he regained the east. He therefore symbolized the sun's daily birth and death, as each morning renews his triumph over the night.\*

\* Maspero.



The Egyptian priests, blending earth with heaven, also imagined that the divinity revealed himself to men in various forms, often manifesting himself in the persons of divine-kings, who varied in the different provinces. Afterwards these fancied manifestations took a lower form, and the earthly gods were no longer men but animals, and this doctrine probably originated the strange honours paid to cats, crocodiles, serpents, and to the bull Apis.

The fact that the bull Apis was regarded as the incarnation of a god explains the curious adoration paid to it. "Apis" (Hapi), writes Mariette, "is the Egyptian Word incarnate. He is the soul of Osiris; it is Osiris who gives him his own life. At the same time he is not the son of Osiris, for he took flesh from Ptah. The Egyptian, who in silent meditation bowed down before the deified bull, only remembered the majesty of the god and forgot that his representative was one of the most common animals. He only felt himself in the presence of the beneficent Osiris, the guardian of souls, who, as a loving proof of the protection of God, left his immortal nature to come down and assume the disguise of an animal subject to death."

"I do not," adds Mariette, "place much value upon this curious Egyptian theology, which, commencing with God, descended to the most deplorable misuse of serious doctrines that any people have ever been guilty of, to the worship of a common quadruped, for whose shelter they transformed a magnificent temple into a stable."\*

*The Destiny of Man : The Immortality of the Soul.*—The doctrine of the destiny of man held by the Egyptian priests, concealed, under many images, a very elevated meaning. They worshipped Osiris as their chief god, and traced a fancied resemblance between man and this divinity, between the human life and the sun's course. Birth, maturity, decline, and death were typified in morning, noon, evening, and night. Even as Osiris disappeared and rose again, man passed into darkness, the prelude to his re-awakening in another life. Man had received a portion of the divine spirit, which imprisoned in his body would have

\* Mariette.

burned it, but that the spirit was wrapped up in the soul. The soul itself was wrapped up in the mind, which directly united it to the body. Death destroyed the prison of the body and freed the divine spirit, which returned to the divinity. The soul remained empty, and had then to appear before the tribunal where Osiris was enthroned, surrounded by forty-two members of the jury of the world below. "The impious soul, rejected, wandering between heaven and earth, sought for a body it could lodge in, and, having found one, tortured, overwhelmed it with pain and sickness, urging it to madness and folly. When, after the lapse of centuries, the soul at last reached the end of its sufferings, it was only to pass through a second death and return into nothingness."\*

Judgment was given by means of a balance; the soul was placed in one scale: the image of Thoth, the god of justice, in another, and the monuments supply us with representations of this figurative weighing, which decided man's eternal fate. The righteous endured fresh probation and were then admitted into companionship with Osiris. "The soul descended into the infernal regions and there found itself obliged to pass through fifteen pylons, guarded by genii armed with swords. He could only proceed by giving proof of his good actions and of his knowledge of divine subjects; he was further tried by arduous labours which are enumerated in the Funeral Ritual. He had to wage fierce combats with strange monsters and fantastic animals, and could only triumph through the aid of sacramental formulas and exorcisms, which fill twelve chapters of the Ritual."†

*Funerals: Judgments of the Dead: The Mummies.*—The Greeks were much impressed with this belief in the immortality of the soul, and it is probably the origin of Pythagoras' doctrine of metempsychosis (migration of souls into the bodies of animals). It also explains the care taken by the Egyptians of their dead and of their tombs. A solemn judgment was pronounced upon the dead by their relations and friends, thus anticipating the celestial

\* Maspero.

† François Lenormant, "Manuel d'histoire ancienne de l'Orient." Tome I.

verdict. If the deceased were convicted of having led a sinful, careless life, he was deprived of funeral honours. If, on the contrary, he were declared virtuous and honourable, the eulogy of the dead was pronounced, and the body was embalmed. The Egyptians had attained great skill in the art of preserving the body after death. They believed in the resurrection of the body



Weighing the Actions of the Dead.

and in the importance of preserving it intact. Mummies have been found that after thousands of years are scarcely altered. "The features are recognisable, the flesh little sunken, the eyelids, lips, ears, nose and cheeks, have lost little of their natural appearance, the teeth are in place, and the hair is still on the head." \* In 1881, M. Maspero disinterred fifteen mummies of

\* "Description de l'Egypte" ("Mémoire de Jomard").

the Pharaohs from the west of Thebes, and transferred them to the museum at Boulak. They were in such a wonderful state of preservation that the features of the face were unaltered. The linen bandages had not decayed, and even flowers that had been enclosed in the stone coffins looked as though withered only a few months, although they had been cut four thousand years before. Schweinfurth, the botanist, said that by the growth of the flowers he could tell at what season they had been gathered, and he arranged a beautiful herbal of specimens for the museum at Boulak.



A Mummy Coffin.

The mummy was enclosed in a wooden coffin, or case, ornamented with hieroglyphics and paintings; sometimes in a sarcophagus of porphyry, basalt, or alabaster. The necropolis, or cemetery, was placed in the highest part of the country, near the hills that surround the valley of the Nile, in order that the tombs should be above the level of the inundations. When the floods were out it could only be reached in boats, and thus originated the expression, "So-and-so must cross the provincial lake:" Diodorus tells us that the Greek fables about the voyage to hell, and the boat that carried the dead, were also founded on the Egyptian custom.

*Political Organization—Government.—*

The government was an absolute monarchy, and was in a great degree identified with the religion. The inscriptions on the monuments are often dedications to deified kings. In one of the halls at Kurneh we find Rameses I., grand-

father of Rameses Sesostris, placed behind Ammon, and himself transformed into Osiris, receiving divine honours from his grandson. The Pharaohs had some skill in administration—they divided Egypt into nomes, which were again subdivided into several parts; 1st, the chief town, the seat of the civil and military government and the centre of the provincial religion; 2nd, the productive land, cultivated for cereals and fertilized by the inundations; 3rd, the marshes, where the floods left deep pools that were not easily dried; 4th, the canals, which were filled from the Nile to facilitate agriculture and navigation. At the head of the civil and military administration of the nome we find governors, called by the Greeks nomarchs. The inhabitants of each nome paid taxes to the king and to his representatives; these taxes were proportioned to the landed wealth of the person taxed, and the assessment was a reason for frequently requiring census and registration. The people were subject to a species of conscription for military service and to forced labour (*corvée*) for the execution of all works of public utility, such as building a temple or a fortress, making roads, constructing dykes, or excavating canals. The number of nomes varied at different dates; most of the ancient historians mention thirty-six; some Egyptian rolls give forty-four—twenty-two for Upper and twenty-two for Lower Egypt.\*

The government of Egypt was a despotism of the most absolute kind. The king was not only sovereign pontiff, but indeed, as it were, the visible god of his people. Not only was there no one near the king in dignity, but he was even worshipped during his life. That the king could do no wrong was a fundamental axiom of the Egyptian nation. Legislative power was vested in the king. The succession to the crown was hereditary. The union of priestly sanctity, military power, and monarchical authority in one person gave the government great stability, and popular revolutions were unknown.

*Society.*—Egyptian society was apparently distinguished by the same changelessness which characterized the hierarchy; it seems

\* Maspero, "Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient." Chap. I.

to have been divided into classes, though not into castes. The soldiers and the priests were the two highest classes; their offices were hereditary; and together with the king they possessed the soil of the country. The land both of priests and soldiers was exempt from taxes. Herodotus tells us that below the priests and soldiers were five lower classes, herdsmen of cattle, swineherds, shopkeepers, interpreters, and pilots. These divisions had more resemblance to corporations than to castes; the son usually succeeded to his father's profession, and this system would appear natural to the steady unchanging habits of the Egyptians.

*Manners and Customs—Morality.*—The Egyptians, then, had a settled social organization, in which the people were perhaps too stringently divided into classes, but which was entirely based on the respect for family life, on gratitude towards parents, on friendship, and on deference towards old age.

"They observed," relates Herodotus, "the customs of their fathers, instead of adopting new ones. When young men met their elders they went out of their way in order to give place to them; at their approach they rose from their seats."

The Egyptians wore linen tunics with fringes round the bottom, and white woollen mantles above the tunics. But no one entered a temple clothed in wool, and it was considered impious to place any in the wrappers of the dead.

The criminal code was severe. Perjury, as an offence both against God and man, was punished with death. An adulterer received a thousand stripes; an adulteress had her nose mutilated. The whole system of administration was in the hands of the two privileged orders, the priests and the soldiers. The great body of the people had no public duties whatever. The Egyptians were all forced to deposit written memoranda of their means of subsistence with the magistrate, and those who made false statements, or who made their living by illegal means, were condemned to death. Murder, even of a slave, entailed the capital penalty.

A debtor's goods were seized for debt, but not his person. Herodotus mentions a law which authorized an Egyptian to borrow

on the security of his father's mummy ; those who did not redeem their pledge were denied the honours of the family sepulchre.

Usury was limited ; the interest could never exceed the principal ; treason, cowardice in the field, debasing the coinage, altering the measures, weights, seals, or judicial acts, were all most severely punished.

The bas-reliefs represent Egyptian houses, all more or less sumptuous ; superb palanquins, a species of room with swing doors, carried on a sledge, which the great personages of ancient Egypt used as carriages ; monkeys, cats, and dogs, which formed part of the household ; stewards, secretaries, men-servants carrying provisions of all kinds.

But it is evident that the greater portion of the population, weighed down by the amount of statute labour exacted from them, in addition to the cultivation of the fields, compelled to aid in the erection of those gigantic monuments which required the united labour of thousands of men, were sunken in ignorance and slavery like the fellah of our own times. The drawings on the monuments represent entire armies of men, harnessed for the transport of the stone blocks or colossi, and driven along with whips.

But yet in the inscriptions and above all in the "Book of the Dead" we find an excellent code of morality in a negative form. While justifying himself before the great tribunal, a chief enumerates all the evil actions which he has not committed, and in this confession, or rather apology, he proves the existence of a delicacy of feeling amongst the Egyptians that we should hardly have expected. (Champollion, "*Lettres d'Egypte et de Nubie.*"\*)

\* *The confessions of the dead.*—The Book of the Dead, which was enclosed with each mummy, contains in chapter cxxv. a most beautiful exposition of the duty of universal love and charity. This book is a collection of prayers and formulas for the use of the dead in the other world. The soul, standing before the tribunal of Osiris, pleaded his cause before the jury of the lower world. "Homage to you, Lords of Truth and Justice ; I acknowledge you to be the Lords of Truth and Justice ! I have brought you the truth, I have put away all lies in your presence, I have never committed any fraud against another, I have never been harsh towards a widow, I have never lied in the tribunal, I have never uttered a falsehood, I have never done a forbidden thing, I never exacted more than a fair day's labour from the overseer of

*Agriculture.*—We are able to gather a correct picture of the style in which the Egyptians lived and worked, from the monuments and tombs. They contain an almost inexhaustible series of paintings, reproducing all the incidents of daily life. In the grottos of Beni-Hassan, the agricultural drawings show us Egyptians ploughing with oxen or with hand ploughs; and at seed time, the earth being trodden by rams instead of pigs (Herodotus mentions the use of the latter for the purpose). Five different kinds of ploughs were used, but all of primitive shapes and without wheels, for no effort was required to open the sodden earth.

There are also pictures of the wheat and flax harvest, the granaries, the lotus harvest, the vine culture and the vintage, two kinds of wine presses, one manual and the other mechanical, the filling of the jars and carrying them to the cellars, the ripening of the wine, &c. Numerous aquatic plants, the lotus and the papyrus, were plentiful in the marshes of the Delta, and served both for the food and the manufactures of the inhabitants.

*Industry.*—The paintings in the tombs also show us men at work upon all the arts and all the handicrafts. "We see there the

works, I have not been negligent, I have not been idle, I have never been deficient, I have never been a defaulter, I have not done anything to offend the gods, I have never calumniated a slave in the ears of his master, I have not been greedy, I have never caused sorrow to others, I have not committed murder, I have never illegally ordered the commission of murder, I have never defrauded anyone, I have never kept back the bread from the temple, I have never extracted the cakes offered to the gods, I have never robbed the dead of their provisions or bandages, I have not made fraudulent profits, I have not cheated in measuring the wheat, I have not defrauded one finger from a palm, I have not encroached on the fields of another, I have not made fraudulent profits by means of false weights in the scales, I have not tampered with the equilibrium of the scales, I have not robbed the suckling of his milk, I have never hunted the sacred animals in their pastures, I have not netted the divine birds, I have not fished in the ponds that contain the sacred fish, I have not driven back the water in its season, I have not extinguished the sacred fire in its appointed hour, I have not violated the divine cycle of chosen offerings, I have not driven the oxen from the holy lands, I have not been disrespectful to the god in his procession, I am pure, I am pure, I am pure, I am pure." (Maspero, "*Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient.*" Chap. I.)



workers in stone and in wood, the painters of sculpture and of architecture, of furniture and carpenters' work; the quarrymen hewing blocks of stone; all the operations of the potter's art; workmen kneading the earth with their feet, or with their hands; men at work making sticks, oars and sculls; curriers, leather-dyers, and shoe-makers, spinners, cloth-weavers with various shaped looms, glass-makers; \* goldsmiths, jewellers, and blacksmiths."† Among the antiquities still in a state of good preservation there is much pottery, including vessels of simple earthenware and enamelled faience, enamelled and sculptured terra-cotta, a good deal of glass, often resembling Venetian, metal work and jewellery, and linen cloth fine as Indian muslin, of which a good deal has been found in the tombs.

*Commerce.*—It is evident from the extension given to the Egyptian empire by some of its victorious princes, that the people did not seek isolation, and that in spite of their contempt for strangers, they did not hesitate to open commercial relations with them. But Egypt did not possess a fleet, and it was not until much later, under Amasis, that the Greeks obtained permission to found a commercial colony at Naucratis. The principal trade was carried on by the Phœnicians by sea and by caravans by land or by the Upper Nile with Ethiopia, whence gold, ivory, and slaves were imported. Caravans from Arabia brought incense, and according to ancient writers, Egypt received spices from India, and wine from Greece and Phœnicia. Wheat, which grew in abundance, and a famous cloth were the chief exports. But the Egyptians did not themselves conduct the export trade, they gave their produce in exchange for the merchandise they received, without leaving their country. The worshipper of Osiris did not care to live and dreaded to die outside the sacred valley of the Nile, where alone he could count on due embalment and a burial which would preserve his body from final destruction.

*Egyptian Art.*—The Egyptian monuments are an indisputable

\* The Egyptians were well acquainted with glass, and bottles have been found, some made of plain glass and others covered with osier or wicker work.

† Champollion, "Lettres de l'Égypte et de Nubie."

proof of the grandeur to which their art had attained. Architecture has never reached such vast proportions elsewhere. The temples were monuments of royal piety, and were built inside high and massive walls, which surrounded them and the consecrated ground at some distance. It was necessary to cross immense



Pillar, with Statue, Medinet Abou.

courts and peristyles before reaching the sanctuary where the god dwelt, and the Egyptian priests probably encouraged the extension of the accessory and external portions of the temple, in order to facilitate the march of the processions, which with all their magnificent arrangements are represented on the walls.

Architecture was pre-eminent-ly the art of ancient Egypt, and architects held a high social position. Bakenkhonsou was at once chief prophet of Amen and chief architect of Thebes in the days of Seti I. and Rameses II. Architects generally transmitted their profession and their processes and receipts to their sons, who pursued their fathers' profession.

Sculpture was also honoured in Egypt, and, like the archi-

tecture, was the product of religious feeling. Egyptian sculpture was essentially symbolic; it expressed the repose which characterised the religion of Egypt. It aimed not at minute reproduction of the details of nature, but at broad general effects; in this its success was marvellous. The artistic effect of the colossal works that





































belong to the reigns of the Thothmes, Amenhoteps, Seti, and Rameses Sesostriis, is, when the relation between aim and attainment is considered, if not unrivalled, at any rate unsurpassed. The cast of the colossus of Rameses II., brought from the Ramesseum, may be viewed in the British Museum as an illustration of the qualities ascribed to the sculpture of Egypt. Egyptian sculpture was developed from bas-reliefs on the walls of the temples, and passed through five periods, beginning with the simple grandeur of the Memphian tombs of the ages of the Pyramids, and ending with the renaissance under the Saite kings, in which the influence of Greek art is plainly traceable. The distinguishing characteristics of Egyptian art are: 1, its realism in following nature; 2, its elimination or suppression of detail. In the early years of the monarchy the sculptor was engaged on portrait statues in which the chief attention was given to the face and head, and the body was more general and less defined; and when, after the close of the ancient monarchy, the artist aimed at higher attainment, he knew no better way than the simplification and generalisation of form.

The infinite variety of scenes portrayed on the walls of the tombs prove the skill that the Egyptians had attained in decorative painting. But here also the sole object of their decorations was to enhance the splendour of the tombs and temples. There is neither chiaroscuro nor perspective; the paintings are based on the conventions of sculpture, and resemble the bas-reliefs that they continue or reproduce. The Egyptian artists used primary colours and in such purity that after sixty centuries their brilliancy is in many cases still untarnished.

The Egyptians were skilful in forming ornaments of enamelled beads, and in decorating glass and earthenware vases. A small copper-green inkstand in enamelled earthenware, with an open lattice formed of seated lions, is commonly spoken of as a marvel of art. Amongst the jewellery there is a small bull in gold and enamel, lying down, with extended wings, and other symbols, which prove the delicacy they had acquired in enamelling and jeweller's work.

*Writing: the Hieroglyphics.*—The work of modern Egyptologists

has enlightened us as to the real character of Egyptian writing. The three forms, hieroglyphic (sacred carving), hieratic (priestly), and demotic (popular), that were supposed to be different writings, have now been recognised as varieties of the same writing, differing in point of time. Champollion discovered that some of the characters were ideographic, and that the hieratic is an abbreviation of the hieroglyphic. A little later, but independently, Dr. Young discovered that they were often phonetic, that is, that they represented sounds; and that the sole value of the picture lay in the

| Α.   | λ.   |
|--|--|
| ΑΑ....     | ΑΣ...   |
| ΑΑ....    | ΑΔ....    |
| ΑΒ....      | ΑΛ....    |
| ΑΡ....    | ΑΛ....    |
| ΑΜ....      | ΑΒ....   |
| ΑΝ....      | ΑΥ....    |
| ΑΡ....     | ΑΜ....   |
| ΑΣ....      | ΑΝ....   |
| ΑΤ....    | ΑΡ....    |
| ΑΔ....     | ΑΣ....    |

Egyptian Hieroglyphics.

first letter of the object designated. The hieroglyphics can therefore be reduced into alphabetical signs. The difficulty of deciphering the hieroglyphics is greatly increased by the fact that they are often, as we have seen, ideographic, that is, standing for the objects signified.

The hieroglyphics are uncial characters, and were used as monumental writing and on the walls and pillars at Thebes. A cursive or abridged form of writing was used for literary work; this was called the hieratic writing, and was traced from right to left.

This system simplified and still more abridged became the demotic or popular writing, and it was particularly difficult to decipher, because the sharpness of the signs had much degenerated.

*Literature and Science.*—We are now able, as a result of the study by Egyptologists of the Egyptian texts, to appreciate the progress made by the nation in literature and science. In one of the tombs at Jizeh, a great functionary of the sixth dynasty is entitled the governor of the House of Books (*i.e.* library). The translation of the Ritual of the Dead shows us that religious literature was highly developed; whilst some of the secular poems, and particularly one by the scribe Pentapour, which celebrates the exploits of Rameses II. against the Kheta or Hittites, proves that the Egyptians could depict the scenes of war in vivid and dramatic language. Of prose history the chief sources are the engravings on the monuments, but there is in the Turin papyrus a complete list of the kings with the length of their reigns. As for geography, a fragment of a map also at Turin describes a part of Nubia in the time of Seti I.

Other papyri, most of which are at the British Museum, contain collections of letters written by celebrated scribes. There are also some specimens of romance writing, the earliest that we know of in the world.

The Egyptians were well advanced in the science of geometry; its rules are followed in the regular forms of their monuments, but they had less knowledge of arithmetic. They expressed units by strokes, and tens and powers of ten by fresh symbols; they read, as we do, from the highest denomination to the lowest.

The Egyptian priests, fascinated perhaps by the brilliancy of the stars in the beautiful nights that distinguish their country, devoted a great deal of their time to the study of astronomy. They knew Sirius, the star of Isis. "Its heliacal rising marked the commencement of the inundation, and also marked the commencement of the civil year, so that the whole chronological system was based upon its course. The primitive Egyptian year was composed of twelve months of thirty days each, in all 360 days. The twelve months were divided into three seasons of four months

each. The first was the season of commencement (Sha): this was the period of the inundation; secondly, the seed time (Pre), the winter season; thirdly, the harvest (Shemou) which was equivalent to summer. Each month was divided into three decades, each day and each night into twelve hours, and so exactly that noon corresponded with the sixth hour of the day, and midnight with the sixth hour of the night." \*

In medicine the Egyptians seem to have made little progress. The physicians appear to have been priests. The country was very healthy, and the religious feeling about the dead did not allow the dissection of the body. There are two treatises on medicine in the Berlin Museum.

*Character of Egyptian Civilization.*—The Egyptians then possessed theologians, artists, poets, historians, doctors, astronomers, and geometers. They endeavoured to read the wonderful book of the heavens, as well as to penetrate into the secrets of nature upon the earth. They had great reasoning powers and imagination, and if their poetry in words is too formal and constrained to affect us much, we are moved by their poetry in stone, by their sculpture, and especially by their architecture. Skilful in the fabrication of objects that were useful in daily life, or that served to adorn their dwellings, the Egyptians were well acquainted with all the arts that minister to luxury; society was regulated by grave and ceremoniously polished manners, and their religion, though coarse in many of its outward observances, was elevated by the esoteric doctrines held by the priesthood. In a word, they were worthy of the fame they have left, and they deserved to be imitated (as they were in many things) by other nations.

We do not yet know enough absolute facts of the confused history of this first human society, which flourished between the lotus and the palm on the banks of the Nile, to gain an explanation of all the contradictions which strike us. We must be content to hail in it the progenitor of civilization and the first teacher of mankind. The Greeks themselves owned that they had been its disciples, and that it was from Egypt that they had gathered their religion and

\* Maspero.

the elements of their science. There is some reason to believe them, although whatever they owed to Africa and Asia, their civilization is distinguished by its originality as much as by its remarkable elevation. "An admirable and highly significant myth," says Hegel, "represents the Egyptian Sphinx struck by a Greek, who solves the enigma, and finds the solution in man, in the spirit conscious of its liberty." And it was exactly that liberty of spirit that Egypt lacked; art was swathed in bands like a mummy, was forced into the same cold rigidity, and remained immovable, like the monuments raised by a despotic empire, under a sky as unchanging as themselves.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS.

**SUMMARY:** The Civilization of Asia—Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates—The Chaldean-Babylonian Empire—Ruins and Monuments of Babylon—The Assyrian Empire: The Ruins and Monuments of Nineveh—The Religion of the Assyrians and Babylonians—The Chaldean Priests—The Babylonian and Assyrian Government—Society: Manners and Customs—The Art of War—Agriculture and Industry—Assyrian Art—Cuneiform Writing—Literature and Science—The Character of Mesopotamian Civilization.

**NOTES:** Astronomy in Mesopotamia.

*The Civilisation of Asia ; the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates.*  
—In that part of Asia which borders upon Africa, to the north of Arabia and the Persian Gulf, in an almost tropical region, at the foot of the Armenian highlands, defended by the Elvend mountains on the east, and bounded by the desert on the west, opens the broad valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates, rivers which flowing from the same mountains and in the same direction, and maintaining for a long distance a parallel but independent course, join at last and fall together into the Persian Gulf. In the month of April these two rivers, swollen by the melted snows in the mountains of Armenia, overflow, sinking again to the level of their beds in June. The country around them therefore was very similar to the Nile valley. A large number of canals joined the Tigris to the Euphrates, and distributed the water rendered necessary for agriculture by the tropical climate.

The upper part of the country enclosed between the two rivers was properly called Mesopotamia, a term used also roughly to designate the whole country of the two rivers. The valley of the



Upper Tigris, or Upper Mesopotamia, was Assyria, and the lower part of both valleys Babylonia, Elam, Susiana. Assyria, as far down as a little above Nineveh, was an undulating region, well watered and fertile, about five hundred miles long, and varying from one to three hundred miles in width. From a little above Nineveh the great alluvial plain begins which, as Lower Mesopotamia, or Babylonia, spread a rainless flat, depending for its fertility on irrigation, four hundred miles long, and about a hundred miles wide, along the course of the Tigris and Euphrates to the Persian Gulf.

In these two fertile regions flourished two empires, the Chaldean-Babylonian and the Assyrian.

*The Chaldean-Babylonian Empire.*—From the earliest date the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates, lying open to the east, were traversed by a great variety of nations, and the mixture of races has been more puzzling to scientific men in this than in any other region. The evidence on the whole points to the Semitic origin of the people of Assyria proper, and indeed generally of the people of Mesopotamia; but the Cushite (Hamite) element is very marked in Babylonia, especially in the earliest inscriptions, and it may be said that the ruling race in Babylonia in the most remote period of its history was Cushite. The Chaldeans, says a trustworthy authority,\* appear to have been a branch of the great Hamite race of Akkad, which inhabited Babylonia from the earliest times. With this race originated the art of writing, the building of cities, the institution of a religious system, and the cultivation of all science, and of astronomy in particular. In the primitive Akkadian tongue were preserved all the scientific treatises known to the Babylonians, long after the Semitic element had become predominant in the land. It was in fact the language of science in the East, as the Latin was in Europe during the Middle Ages.

When Semitic tribes established an empire in Assyria in the thirteenth century, B.C., they adopted the alphabet of the Akkad, and with certain modifications applied it to their own language; but during the seven centuries, which followed, of Semitic dominion at Nineveh and Babylon, the Assyrian language was merely

\* Sir H. Rawlinson.

used for historical records and official documents. The mythological, astronomical, and other scientific tablets found at Nineveh, are exclusively in the Akkadian language, and are thus shown to belong to a priestly class, exactly answering to the Chaldeans of profane history and of the Book of Daniel. The Chaldean priest Berosus, who flourished at Babylon in the third century B.C., has left a sketch of the dynasties of Babylonia which is manifestly mythical in its earlier part, but of which the later portion is confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions. During the second or great Chaldean dynasty, the colonisation of Assyria was accomplished by settlers from Babylon anterior at any rate to the nineteenth century B.C. And it was not till the thirteenth century B.C. that Assyria became in its turn the dominant empire, and Babylon was forced to take the second place. Babylon, however, retained its own kings during the period of Assyrian greatness. From about 747 B.C., the accession of Nabonassar, the line of kings at Babylon is supplied by the well-known work of Ptolemy, the geographer. Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, joined with the Medes and assisted at the final overthrow of Assyria and the capture of Nineveh 625 B.C. Babylon then stood alone, and under Nebuchadnezzar, 604—561 B.C., attained the supreme development of prosperity and power which preceded its final fall. This took place when Nabonidus and his son Belshazzar shared the throne. With the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, 538 B.C., the decay of the city set in, and neither the residence of the Persian kings nor the projects of Alexander really arrested it. The fact that it has served as a quarry to supply material for Seleucia and the other cities that have arisen from time to time in the Mesopotamian plain, has completed the destruction, and now nothing remains but mounds of rubbish to mark the site of the great city.

*The Ruins and Monuments of Babylon.*—In the commencement of the nineteenth century (1811—1818), Rich and Porter visited the ruins of Babylon; and they were afterwards carefully explored by Loftus, and later by Mr. Layard, and by the French expedition, directed by M. Oppert.

The ruins, artificial mounds of huge size, extend over an im-

mense space near Hillah on the Euphrates. On the left of, that is on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, three large mounds of rubbish mark the site of the largest buildings. The first, on the north, is called Babil by the Arabs, and is probably the ancient temple of Belus rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar. The mound of the Kasr (castle), to the south of Babil, appears to have been the great palace of Nebuchadnezzar. The ruin of Amram is the lowest, but also the most extensive, and probably the most ancient of the remains. It has been with considerable probability identified with the ancient palace which was of equal antiquity with Babylon itself.

The temple of Belus was probably the earliest form of the Babylonian temple-tower, or ziggurat, rising in eight stages to a height that is even now little short of 140 feet, and supporting the cupola where the oracles were consulted and where the god dwelt.

The walls of the palace of the Kasr (castle) were, it appears, covered with coloured bas-reliefs in enamelled brick. A great many fragments of pictures of trees and of animals have actually been found. The ruins of Amram have been identified by M. Oppert with the famous "hanging gardens" of Nebuchadnezzar; but this identification is by other savants held to be very doubtful.

Across the Euphrates, about six miles from Hillah, rises the mound of Birs-Nimrud; it is still called Borsippa, and has been identified with the Temple of Bel-Merodach, rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar.

Herodotus thus describes this wonderful temple: "A massive tower one stadium (600 Greek feet) square rose in the centre; this supported a second, and the second a third, in all eight stages placed one above the other. A winding staircase built outside leads from tower to tower, and the highest point was crowned by a spacious chapel, containing a large, richly covered bed, and near it a golden table. The priests say that the god walks about the temple and rests on the bed."

According to M. Oppert: "The platform which supported it (the temple) was 75 feet high. On this terrace stood the edifice, consisting of seven stages rising one above the other, each diminishing in extent and each coloured differently; the first black,

the second white, the third orange, the fourth blue, the fifth scarlet, the sixth silver, and the seventh gold. These towers were consecrated to the divinities who impersonated the luminaries of heaven, and formed an enormous structure; a pyramid overwhelming by its mass, imposing by its height of 250 feet, splendid when under the brilliant Babylonian sky the sun blazed on the coverings, reflected by the colours, and sparkling on the gold. This was The House of the Seven Lights of the Earth—the tower which Nebuchadnezzar, in an inscription found among the ruins, boasted that he had restored."

We ask ourselves how buildings of such vast dimensions, separated by enormous distances, can be the monuments of a single town. Yet the accounts of Herodotus, Strabo, Quintus Curtius, give to Babylon an area of between one and two hundred square miles, and one hundred square miles is little short of five times the area of London. The question whether Birs-Nimrud, or Borsippa, was or was not in Babylon has been much disputed, but all authorities agree as to the idea we ought to form of the Babylonian town. "The size," writes Heeren, "cannot be any guide to the number of the population. Their buildings had no resemblance to ours. The houses were separated and each surrounded by large gardens and courts, which often occupied more than half of the ground. The spaces between the buildings were cultivated in such a way as to provide food in case of siege."

Babylon, according to ancient historians, was surrounded by walls over three hundred feet in height and eighty in thickness, and was divided into two parts by the river Euphrates, which flowed through it. Narrow streets led to the river, on which they opened by gates. Quays enclosed the water, and towards the centre a bridge crossed it, but the bridge was movable and was only used during the day. At night the two sides of the river were completely separated.

*The Assyrian Empire—the Ruins and Monuments of Nineveh.*—Though the colonisation of the country about the Tigris had been accomplished centuries before by dwellers in Babylonia, the Assyrian empire cannot be said to have had an independent

existence till the thirteenth century B.C. Towards the close of the twelfth century Tiglath Pileser seems to have pushed the conquests of Assyria from the borders of Babylon to Palestine. Later on, Sardanapalus (the warlike king Shalmaneser), and, in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, carried the glory of Assyria to its zenith, subduing Babylon and establishing a viceroy there, and carrying on works of building in Assyria on a magnificent scale. Under these monarchs Assyria asserted its military supremacy even in Egypt. Under Esarhaddon's son, Sardanapalus, the decay of the Assyrian empire began, and about 625 B.C. the capital, and with it the empire of Assyria, fell before a coalition of the Medes and Babylonians.

In 1820 Mr. Rich visited the supposed site of Nineveh, and made a survey and some examination of Koyunjik and the surrounding mounds. But nothing further was attempted till M. Botta was sent as French consul to Mosul. M. Botta was interested in antiquarian research, and the people readily brought him stones, bricks, and inscriptions. Botta searched in the direction of Khorsabad, and the workmen's spades soon uncovered some well-preserved walls (1849). Encouraged and aided by the French Government, the explorer overcame the reluctance of the Turkish administration, bought all the hovels that had been built on the hill of Khorsabad, and succeeded in disinterring the ruins of a magnificent palace. The excavations were afterwards carried on by MM. Place and Fresnel, and were rewarded by ample discoveries.

In 1845 Mr. Layard commenced excavations amongst the hillocks of Nimrud, situated about twelve hours' march from Khorsabad, and the two magnificent palaces of Nimrud and of Koyunjik, with their colossal sculptures and storied bas-reliefs, issued from their earthy shrouds. Nineveh was situated on the Tigris, near the site of the modern Mosul, but its extent has not yet been ascertained, for no trace of its outer wall has been found. The Prophet Jonah tells us that three days were required to cross it. There is early evidence of its importance; its name is found, in conjunction with that of Nahareina or Mesopotamia, on the statis-



Assyrian Figure found at Nineveh.

tical table of Karnak, and its vast size is generally vouched for by ancient historians.

The mounds of Koyunjik and Nebbi-Yunus mark the traditional site of Nineveh, and are the most extensive remains in Assyria. The palace of Sennacherib at Koyunjik, which Layard disinterred, presents a wonderful labyrinth of halls, chambers, and galleries, panelled with sculptured alabaster slabs, and with doorways flanked by man-headed and winged bulls or lions. Some of the halls are nearly a hundred and fifty feet square, and one of the passages is two hundred feet long, and all are panelled with sculptured alabaster. Twenty-seven doorways, flanked by colossal bulls and lions, some twenty feet in height, were excavated by Mr. Layard. In a second palace at Koyunjik the tomb of the son of Esarhaddon was discovered, and the bas-relief, among others, of the Lion Hunt, now in the British Museum. At a short distance from Koyunjik another royal palace was discovered, beneath the hill of Nebbi-Yunus, and there, as elsewhere, winged bulls and inscriptions were disinterred. This palace was apparently an adjunct to the larger one, and was erected by Esarhaddon.

Various ruins have been discovered round the royal city, but at some distance from it; to the north the palace at Khorsabad, to the south the palaces of Nimrud. The palace of Sargon, at Khorsabad, has been so carefully and fully explored that its plan is more perfectly understood than that of any other Assyrian building.

Nimrud, the ancient Calah, lies twenty miles south of Koyunjik, and is the southernmost of the mounds which are supposed to mark the site of that "group of cities, which in the time of the Prophet Jonah was known by the name of Nineveh." The remains at Nimrud occupy an area of about a thousand acres. "On approaching the mound," says Mr. Layard, its explorer, "not a trace of building can be perceived. By a flight of steps rudely cut in the earth, we descend about twenty feet, and suddenly find ourselves between a pair of colossal lions, winged and human-headed, forming a portal." And again: "On both sides of us are sculptured gigantic winged figures, some with the heads of eagles, others entirely human, and carrying mysterious symbols in their hands.

To the left is another portal, also formed by winged lions. Having walked about a hundred feet amidst these scattered monuments of ancient history and art (i.e. winged figures, alabaster bas-reliefs of chariots, horsemen, &c.), we reach another doorway formed by gigantic winged bulls in yellow limestone." And thus "we may wander through these galleries," he continues, "for an hour or two, examining the marvellous sculptures or the numerous inscriptions that surround us. Here we meet long rows of kings attended by their eunuchs and priests; there, lines of winged figures, carrying fir-cones and other religious emblems, and seemingly in adoration before the mystic tree. Other entrances formed by winged bulls and lions lead us into new chambers; in every one of them are fresh objects of curiosity and surprise." And all this is merely a part of a single palace, the north-west palace at Nimrud. This palace, like other palaces of Assyria, was raised upon a mound or brick platform, probably faced with stone masonry. It is chiefly to the sculpture and the scenes and inscriptions of the bas-reliefs which have been carried to the museums of Europe that we are indebted for our knowledge of the religion, society, and arts of the Assyrians.

*The Religion of the Assyrians and Babylonians.*—The religion of Assyria was derived from, and, with some differences in name, almost identical in form with the religion of Babylonia; but the differences illustrate the Cushite proneness to gross polytheism and nature-worship, the Semitic preference for monotheism.

The god Asshur, the national deity of Assyria, was apparently the supreme Il or Ra at Babylon; but at Babylon, local deities, Bel-Merodach or Nebo, were chiefly worshipped, while Asshur was actually, as well as theoretically, supreme in Assyria, and was never superseded by the gods who had the advantage of an external manifestation in sun, moon, or stars. The male divinities who followed the supreme god were classed in triads: 1st, Ana or Anu, Bel or Belus, and Hoa; 2nd, San or Sansi, the sun god, Sin, the moon god, and Vul or Ao, the god of the firmament; 3rd, the gods of the five planets, Nin or Ninip (Saturn), Merodach (Jupiter), Nergal (Mars), Ishtar (Venus), Nebo (Mercury). Lastly to each of



the principal gods a female divinity was assigned, *e.g.* Bilit (Beltis) or Mylitta to Bel, and below them followed a number of genii and minor deities. Ishtar or Nana was the planetary Venus, known to the Phœnicians as Astarte, to the Hebrews as Ashtoreth.

*The Chaldean Priests.*—Diodorus tells us that "the Chaldeans are the most ancient of the Babylonians; they formed a class in the state similar to that of the Egyptian priesthood. Instituted to conduct the worship of the gods, they passed all their time in meditation on philosophical questions, and they acquired a great reputation for astrology. They devoted themselves particularly to the science of divination, and made predictions for the future. They tried to turn away the evil and to attract the good, by purification, by sacred fires, or enchantments."

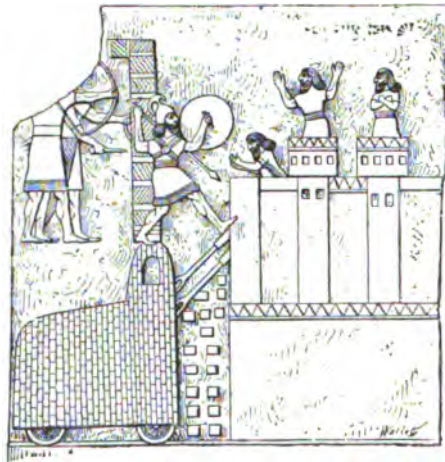
"The Chaldeans," Diodorus adds, "were a sacerdotal caste; their learning was hereditary. Their parents were their instructors, and both in astronomy and in mathematics their knowledge was remarkable." They taught that Sabæism or worship of the heavenly bodies which seems to have had its beginning at Babylon.

*The Babylonian and Assyrian Government.*—The Babylonian and Assyrian empires were despotisms of the most absolute kind, with an exclusive priestly caste to mould the minds of the masses into an attitude of superstitious and slavish submission to the rule of sheer strength. The king was regarded as the religious as well as the secular head. There seems to have been an administration, provinces ruled by royal governors, and tributary provinces. There were three official languages and three different chancellors, whose districts accorded with the ethnographical divisions of the empire.

*Society: Manners and Customs.*—With the exception of the learned class of Chaldean priests, the ruling order in the state, there seem not to have been any social distinctions amongst the Babylonians and Assyrians. We have little information about the laws, but a few contracts of sale and tenancy have been preserved, and they show that the transfer of land was accompanied by solemn and religious formalities. Harsh laws made the insolvent debtor the slave of his creditor.

Polygamy, as usual in the East, was permitted to the rich, but marriage was placed under the protection of a god, and generally the wife had some real estate given her as a dowry. Paternal authority was absolute, indeed even tyrannical.

The savage cruelty of the punishments was what might be expected in Eastern despotisms. The torture of prisoners is frequently represented on the bas-reliefs of Assyria, and in the inscriptions the kings boast unceasingly of their cruelties as though they were exploits worthy of renown. "I passed," says one



Siege of a fortress by the Assyrians.

conqueror, "two hundred and sixty fighting men under my arms; I cut off their heads, and built pyramids of them." A king gives the following horrible details of the punishment of a rebellion: "I killed one out of every two, I built a wall before the great gate of the town. I flayed the chiefs of the rebellion, and I covered this wall with their skins. Some were immured alive in the masonry, others were crucified or impaled along the wall. I had a great many flayed in my presence and covered the walls with their skins."

*The Art of War.*—The art of war was highly honoured amongst the Assyrians. The soldiers wore cuirasses made of small pieces

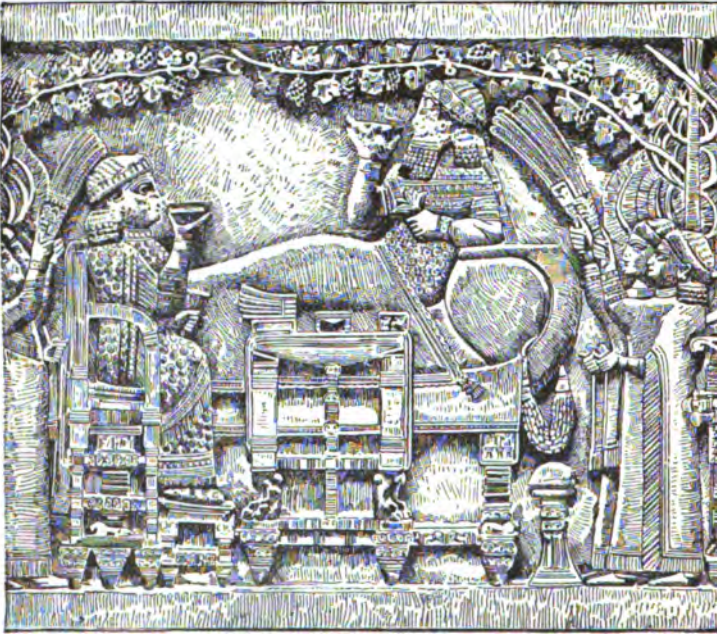
of metal, or long coats of mail, and conical helmets, to which a veil of mail was attached, falling over the neck and closing round the chin. The kings maintained a large number of war chariots, and from the ancient descriptions as well as from the pictures on the bas-reliefs, we get a fair idea of the often enormous size of the fortifications of the towns, towers, and battlemented walls. The science of attack had progressed as rapidly as that of defence, and we see on the bas-reliefs escalade by the aid of ladders, rams conveyed to the foot of the walls by rolling them over artificial roads, incendiary machines, &c.

*Agriculture and Industry.*—When, at the present time, we visit these formerly prosperous countries, we can scarcely believe in the universal fertility that so many witnesses have described. The carelessness of the Turkish administration has allowed the irrigation canals to be silted up, and the inundations now form unhealthy swamps in the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates. Mesopotamia was wonderfully productive in wheat and barley, the enormous returns obtained by Babylonian farmers from their corn-lands being unexampled in modern times; but possessed neither olives, figs, nor vines; millet and sesame, however, grew luxuriantly. Date-palms abounded, and furnished a large part of the food of the inhabitants.

The people of Assyria and Chaldæa were as skilled in manual handicrafts as in the cultivation of the earth. They wove cloths of brilliant colours; they also ornamented their garments with a profusion of embroideries, and wore magnificent tiaras. Babylonian embroidery was celebrated even in the days of the Roman empire. The manufacture of carpets, one of the chief luxuries in the East, attained wonderful perfection at Babylon, as well as the manufacture of personal attire. Their furniture, by its richness and shape, differed completely from anything we find in present use amongst Orientals; the Assyrians used arm-chairs or sat on stools, and dined as we do from tables. The tables and chairs were handsomely decorated and in good taste, and it is curious to note that the same designs for ornamentation were in use then as we have now—lions' claws, animals' heads, &c.; and

even at the present time the ancient models might be studied with profit and copied with advantage.

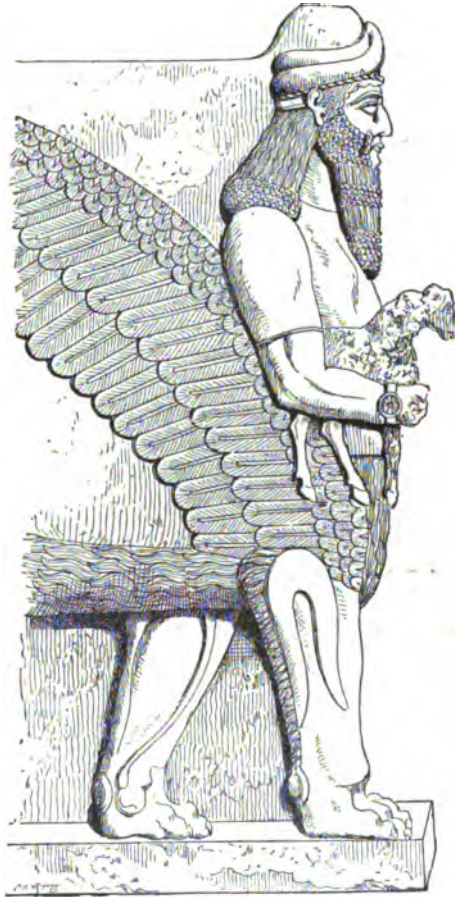
They were skilful in working hard as well as soft materials. The cylinders of jasper and crystal and the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad sculptured in gypsum or in basalt equally denote their pro-



Bas-relief representing a king's banquet.

ficiency. They were acquainted with glass and with various kinds of enamel, and they knew how to bake clay for the manufacture of bricks or of porcelain vases, their paste for the latter being more or less delicate according to the purposes for which they were intended. Moreover, the art of varnishing earthenware and of covering it with paintings by means of coloured enamel was well known at Nineveh.

The metal work, the saddlery and chariots, the embroidery, the gilded and carved work in ivory, all go to prove that “the



Winged lion with a human head, found at Ninéveh.

Assyrians were already,” in the days of Asshur-Nasir-pal, “a great and luxurious people ; that most of the useful arts not only existed

among them, but were cultivated to the highest pitch, and that in dress, furniture, jewellery, &c., they were not much behind the moderns."\*

The development of industry usually induces considerable trade, and Nineveh and Babylon (particularly the latter) were well situated for commercial purposes. On the high road for a great inland trade, Babylon had equal advantages for maritime expeditions and river navigation.

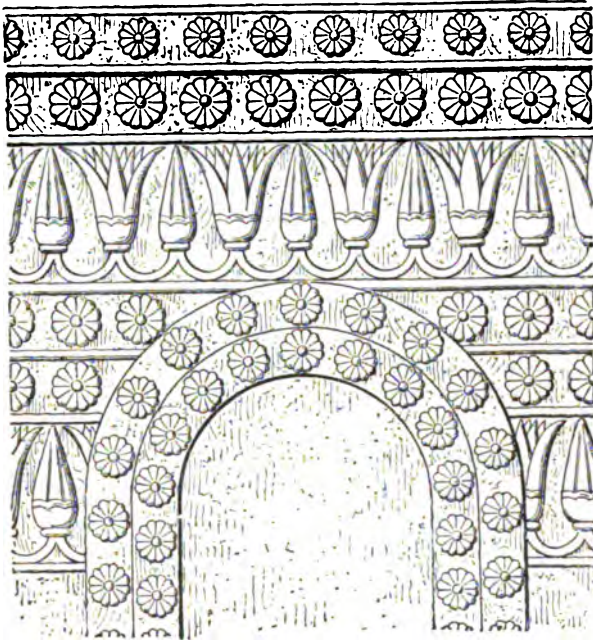
Continual trade intercourse went on between Babylonia and Media, though commerce extended farther still towards the east, indeed, as far as India, from whence the Babylonians procured the precious stones which they used as seals. Caravans also went from Babylon towards Syria and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, towards Asia Minor, and Armenia.

*Assyrian Art.*—The riches accumulated by tribute levied on conquered countries as well as by commerce, explain the luxury displayed by the Assyrians and Babylonians, the pomp of the court, and the lavish use of precious metals in their monuments. Thus Asshur-Nasir-pal records on his obelisk at Nimrud: "I received tribute from Tyre, Sidon, Gebal; from Phœnicia and from Acadus in the sea, these tributes consisting of silver, gold, tin, bronze, . . . stuffs dyed purple and saffron, sandal-wood, ebony, and seal-skins."

The architecture of Assyria was originally borrowed from Babylon, but had a distinct development of its own. Brick was the material necessarily employed in the great alluvial plain of Babylon, and the use of brick was continued even in Assyria, where there was plenty of stone. The oldest style of building in Babylonia is the temple-tower (ziggurat) built in storeys upon a solid platform. The Temple of the Moon at Mugheir is the most ancient example. In lower Babylonia the number of tombs is enormous. The oldest are vaults built of bricks, with mud for mortar. The remains of pottery, ornaments, and weapons found in the tombs are of a very early date. The curious seals or signets prove the knowledge of engraving. In the later period the architecture of

\* Rawlinson, "Five Great Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 253.

Babylon seems to have been borrowed back from Nineveh. Coloured decorations and bas-reliefs, especially in enamelled brick-work, and cuneiform inscriptions in painted characters, were distinctive characteristics of Babylonian architecture. The arch is found in the oldest Babylonian buildings as well as in Assyria.



Decoration of a door at Koyunjik.

The Assyrians, like the Babylonians, largely used for walls mounds of earth faced with brick, and sometimes with massive masonry of stone. The elevation of temples, palaces, &c., on platforms is another characteristic of the architecture of the Tigris as well as of the Euphrates. The Babylonian temple-tower was only a part of the Assyrian temple, which consisted of a long quadrangular chamber, at the upper end of which stood the statue



of the god. The inner walls were covered with bas-reliefs and the doorways flanked by colossal man-headed bulls—the human head perhaps representing intelligence, the huge body force.

Assyrian Art is, however, distinguished from Babylonian by the high excellence of the sculptures. The sculptures, with the exception of the man-headed lions and bulls, were usually in low relief. The sculptured slabs mostly represent scenes of battle, the chase, and religion; and both in battle and the chase the aim is the glorification of the king. Restless life and realistic detail are the distinguishing characteristics of the work. There are, however, three distinct periods. First, the period of simple and direct strength, exemplified in the north-west palace of Nimrud. Second, the period of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, distinguished by great elaboration of details and realistic representations of nature. Third, the age of Asshur-bani-pal, where there is a return to the art of the first period.

The Assyrian sculptors knew how to reproduce nature and the various scenes of life most admirably in stone, and they were gifted with fertile imagination. Animals of all kinds are represented with remarkable fidelity, and the horses particularly are as truthful and elegant as those which are seen in the oldest Greek sculptures. The warriors, their weapons, their war-chariots, are faithfully reproduced in bas-reliefs that carry us back to the time of Sargon and Sennacherib. The material (clay) in which the Mesopotamian artists chiefly worked imposed limitations; yet though lacking the study of the nude human form which produced such great results in Egypt, the art of Mesopotamia was distinguished by energy of modelling and power of movement.

Vigorous as are the bas-reliefs, they have the demerit of being rather paintings than sculptures; and indeed in Assyrian as in classical sculpture colour was undoubtedly employed, "being," says Rawlinson, "confined to the hair, eyes, and beards of men, to the fringes of dresses, to horse trappings, and other accessory parts."

*Cuneiform Writing.*—If we are now enabled to penetrate a little into Assyrian history and manners, it is through the labours of



the decipherers of the inscriptions as well as of their discoverers. Rawlinson, Hincks, Norris in England, Oppert in France, have led the way in deciphering the Assyrian writing, which is even more complicated than the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

The cuneiform writing—so called because it is formed by pressure of the stylus on the soft surface of the clay tablets, producing a mark like a wedge or arrow-head—is a development of hieratic,



Base of column : a winged bull with human face.

itself an improvement on the primitive hieroglyphic. The hieratic characters had been scratched with the point of the stylus on the clay that served the Mesopotamian peoples for paper. The use of the stylus in cuneiform gave a single element by the employment of which in various combinations all the letters of the alphabet were formed. When the Persians conquered Mesopotamia they published their decrees, &c., in the three chief dialects of their

subjects—the Persian, Median, and Assyrian. Hence the trilingual inscriptions which have supplied the key to cuneiform interpretation. The discovery of the interpretation of the famous inscription at Behistun, on the Persian frontier, in three languages, Persian, Median, and Assyrian, enabled Sir Henry Rawlinson to find the key to the Assyrian characters. The same characters had often at the same time an ideographic and a phonetic meaning, without any connection between them. This peculiarity causes much confusion, which is further augmented by the variety of the phonetic meanings given to the same sign.

*Literature and Science.*—It is, therefore, very difficult, in spite of the numerous texts deciphered by modern savants, to form any idea of Assyrian literature; yet the literature must have been considerable, for Layard found a complete library founded by King Asshurbanipal in two of the rooms of his palace at Nineveh. This library consisted of square tablets of baked earth, with flat or slightly convex surface, on which the cuneiform writing had been impressed while the clay was soft, before baking. The characters were very clear and sharply defined, but many of them so minute as to be read only with the help of a magnifying glass. These tablets, which are preserved at the British Museum, contain a kind of grammatical encyclopædia of the Assyrio-Babylonian language, divided into treatises; and also fragments of laws, mythology, natural history, geography, &c. Treatises on arithmetic were also found in the library, proving that mathematical sciences were known, with catalogues of observations of the stars and planets. We have already mentioned that astronomy was greatly honoured amongst the Chaldean priesthood, who had studied the course of the moon with so much precision that they were able to predict her eclipses.\*

\* *Astronomy in Mesopotamia.* — The ancient Mesopotamian astronomers were far in advance of the Egyptian; they had accomplished all that was possible without the aid of optical instruments. They had succeeded in ascertaining the moon's daily motion, and they chiefly measured their time by her course, foretelling her eclipses by the period of twenty-two lunations which they were acquainted with. The earliest known date of a recorded calculation, the 10th of March, 721 B.C., is due to them, and their calculations vary

*The Character of Mesopotamian Civilization.*—If we endeavour to disentangle the general characteristics of Assyrian and Babylonian civilization from the information furnished by the most reliable authorities, we are at once arrested by the contradictions. Science and literature developed in spite of a primitive writing engraved upon clay tablets; the art of sculpture already highly refined; monuments, which without being majestic like the Egyptian were imposing in their size and splendid in their colours; rare elegance in clothing and furniture, denoting great wealth, the result of active commerce; a cruel, even ferocious character, revealed by their treatment of prisoners, and indeed by all their history; a learned caste, devoting themselves to the sciences and also to the unscientific methods of astrology; a religion elevated by the primitive idea of a supreme god, yet degraded by polytheism and often by gross debauchery; kings sufficiently intelligent to construct splendid palaces and immense cities, yet inflated with pride and glorying in the most stupid cruelty—such is the picture opened to us by the records of Assyrian and Babylonian history.

When we observe on the Assyrian bas-reliefs all the industries and all the arts we are inclined to acknowledge that they were superior to the nations that surrounded them, and we understand how the Greeks drew inspiration from Assyrian work as well as from Egyptian.

But when we remember that art does not consist in size and splendour of buildings, in mere magnificence and luxury of materials; when we recall the grossness of the religion and the worship of brute strength which was the distinguishing characteristic of all classes of the people, we are forced to conclude that they were morally barbarians, resembling other Oriental nations, sunk in practical materialism, and ignorant of the very idea of true progress.

from ours only by a few minutes. They were less successful in calculating the more difficult eclipses of the sun. Diodorus tells us that they did not venture to predict them, but contented themselves with observing and registering them. They invented the dial, and were the first to divide the day into twenty-four hours, the hour into sixty minutes, the minutes into sixty seconds. Their great periods of time were traced on this system. (F. Lenormant, "Manuel d'histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient.")

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE RELIGION AND SOCIAL STATE OF THE JEWS.

**SUMMARY:** The Jewish People—Palestine—Formation and History of the Hebrew Nation—The Bible—Religion of the Hebrews: Unity of God—Unity of the Temple—The Ritual: the Sacrifices—The Sabbath: the Feasts—The Spiritual Character of the Hebrew Religion—The Priesthood—The Prophets—The Different Forms of Government—Society: The Family—Property in Land—The Jubilee—Penal Laws—Agriculture—Industry—Commerce—Literature and Science—The Arts—General Characteristics of the Hebrew People: their Moral Grandeur—Causes of the Ruin of Jewish Independence—Fate of the Jews after the Dispersion—The Talmud—The Jews in the Middle Ages—The Jews in Modern Times.

*The Jewish People: Palestine.*—The Assyrian and Babylonian empires, when they extended outside the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates towards the west, engulfed a small nation, the Jewish, which, though often apparently annihilated, yet has wonderfully survived deportation and dispersion, exile and proscription. This prolonged existence of a people exiled, yet always devoted to its native country; lost, yet faithful to itself in the four quarters of the world, is one of the most indisputable facts and one of the strangest mysteries of history. Moreover, this people, who have never been distinguished amongst warlike nations nor amongst industrial or artistic populations, have exercised prodigious influence over the civilization of the world by their religion, which was at once the preparation for Christianity and the source, in a sense, of Islamism.

The country, of which Jerusalem was the capital, for a short and glorious period, beginning with the reign of David, reaching its zenith under Solomon, and entering on its decline under Rehoboam, had been devastated by bloody wars, but although its cities now are desolate they still attract pilgrims from all nations. Rocky, treeless, monotonous beneath its cloudless sky, Palestine

can never cease to exercise a powerfully magnetic attraction upon the religious imagination, and even upon minds on which the sceptical spirit of the age has done its work.

At each step, we may say, from Mount Zion to Mount Tabor, from the verdant and flowery plain of Sharon to the desert shores of the Dead Sea, from the brook of Kedron to the Sea of Galilee, scenes which the Old Testament or the Gospels have made familiar present themselves.

There, in a country less than one hundred and forty miles in length and from seventy to one hundred in breadth, a region not much larger than Wales, a nation unique amongst nations developed itself, with a history so closely blended with its religion that it may be said to have only existed for and by its belief. From this nation issued the great religious revolution which separates ancient and modern history; from this nation radiated the moral ideas which have changed the world.

*The Formation and History of the Hebrew Nation.*—Nowhere in history do we find a more striking example of the development of a nation and of its passage from the primitive to the civilized state. Sprung from a Semitic family, and called Hebrews from the trans-Euphratean country which had been the cradle of their race and from which they had emigrated into Palestine, the Jewish people were at first only a colony of shepherds, preserving in the midst of idolatrous populations the worship to which Abraham, their father and head, had attained, of the one supreme God. The twelve sons of Jacob and Israel were the progenitors of twelve tribes, and from one of the chief amongst them, the tribe of Judah, the name Jew, or inhabitant of the old kingdom of Judah, spread, after the return, to the whole people. Sprung from the loins of Abraham, they were at first a people divided into tribes under a patriarchal government, the nation and the family being, in fact, co-extensive.

While still few in number the people emigrated into Egypt, where, goaded by a long and bitter experience of bondage and sufficiently increased in numerical strength, they only needed a leader in order to free themselves. Moses supplied their need, and under his direction they left Egypt (about a.c. 1490). Thus for

several centuries the Hebrews were a simple, pastoral society, true to the characteristics which the Semitic race has preserved down to our own time.

Moses profited by the complete isolation of the Hebrews in the deserts of Arabia to weld a disorderly crowd, by the strong bond of a common religion and common laws, into a distinct and closely united people. He created a nation, and died after showing them a country to conquer. This country the Hebrews took by force; they destroyed the people of the land of Canaan and occupied their place. The nomads settled down in towns and founded a state without renouncing their tribal distinctions.

The continual hostile pressure of the neighbouring populations made the internal union of the nation closer. The Hebrews, dissatisfied with the Judges and the theocracy, established a monarchy, of which the first ruler was Saul. David, his successor, took Jerusalem and made it his capital; and Solomon widely extended the borders of the empire. The Jewish kingdom was at its highest point of power under Solomon, but the decay had already set in before the accession of Rehoboam, in whose reign Jerusalem was forced to open its gates to the conquering army of Egypt.

The kingdom of Solomon broke up early in Rehoboam's reign into two states, the kingdom of Israel and the kingdom of Judah. Thus divided the Hebrews were easily overwhelmed by the waves of Assyrian and Babylonian conquest. In 721 B.C. Samaria, the capital of Israel, fell before Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, and the kingdom of Israel, *i.e.* the ten tribes, was destroyed. At a later date Jerusalem, capital of Judah, was first reduced to vassalage, and afterwards revolting against Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, was taken in 586 B.C., and sacked with ruthless severity; the survivors were carried away captive into Babylon. Blackened ruins were all that remained of the Temple, and the Jewish nation had apparently ceased to exist. But by the waters of Babylon the Jews wept when they thought of Zion, declining to intermingle with the Babylonians in the same way that they had refused to mix with the Egyptians. Cyrus, in the first year

of his reign at Babylon, delivered them, and Jerusalem arose once more from its ashes (586 B.C.). A remnant of the people, joyfully returned to the centre of their religion and to the old religious life, but remained dependent on the Persian kings. From the Persian dominion the Jews passed under the rule of Alexander the Great. The Ptolemies next became masters of Palestine, and were succeeded temporarily by the Seleucids. The Jews ultimately fell under the yoke of the latter; and if, at last, they succeeded by the help of the Maccabees in throwing it off, they were forced, after many revolts and a fierce resistance, to submit, like the rest of the world, to the Roman dominion.

At this time Jesus the Christ appeared, but the Jews refused to acknowledge in him the Messiah, the promised Saviour; and whilst the Christian religion spread slowly over Asia and Europe, the Jews, still devoted to their ancient creed, still confident in the hope of ultimate victory, revolted against the Romans, who with their great armies destroyed the Temple and Jerusalem (A.D. 70) and dispersed the Jewish nation, though without destroying it.

*The Bible.*—The history and religion of the Jews are inseparable, and are contained in the collection of the national literature, commonly known as the Bible (the Books, τὰ βιβλία), a term applied since the fifth century to the New as well as the Old Testament, which is the Jewish Bible. The Jewish Bible is at the same time the written history of a people and the symbol of an ardent faith. The Old Testament, as the Jewish Bible is generally called, is not the work of a single man nor even of a single epoch, but of a series of writers, and is nothing less than the literature of a nation, although the unity of religious inspiration is felt throughout. The books of which the Old Testament is composed had in the Jewish canon a threefold classification—the Law, the Prophets, the Hagiographa. The most convenient arrangement, however, is into four classes. 1. The Pentateuch. 2. The Historical Books. 3. The Prophets. 4. The Poetical Books.

The five books of the Law, the Pentateuch, begin with Genesis, which includes the account of the creation of the world, and the patriarchal history as far as the death of Joseph. Exodus treats of

the departure from Egypt, the announcement of the Decalogue from Mount Sinai, and the religious organization of God's people, which is described in detail in Leviticus. Numbers contains the double numbering, or census, of the Hebrew people, and Deuteronomy is, as the name signifies, a repetition of the law.

Next to the Pentateuch comes the historical book of Joshua, describing the conquest and partition of Canaan, the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, which is only another and later recital of the ancient Hebrew annals preserved in the Book of Kings. The books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, complete the number of the historical books.

The Prophets may be divided into the four great prophets:—Isaiah, the principal prophet of the Assyrian period; Jeremiah, of the Babylonian period; Ezekiel, of the Babylonian captivity; and Daniel, the first great Apocalyptic writer. There are also the twelve minor prophets, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

The poetical books consist of the book of Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles.

The books of the Apocrypha, by which name the belief that they are spurious is indicated, while inferior in every respect to those of the Old Testament, are interesting as illustrating the progress of the Jewish people from the beginning of the third century to about 80 B.C.

*The Religion of the Hebrews: Unity of God.*—The patriarchs from whom the Hebrews descended had preserved their faith in the unity of God, although surrounded by idolatrous nations. This same creed was defined and confirmed on Sinai.

One God, invisible, all-mighty, eternal Creator of all things, infinitely just and good; this is the Supreme Being, Yahveh, "He that is," whose distinctive characteristic, so to speak, is eternal existence. This we usually translate by the word Jehovah. The Hebrews out of respect refrained from pronouncing the august and formidable word, and substituted the name of Adonai (Lord), or Elohim (God manifested in His strength without reference to His moral qualities). That there is only one God was the fundamental



doctrine of the Jewish as of the patriarchal religion, which doctrine the writers of the Old Testament unceasingly repeat. The Hebrew people were naturally prone to idol worship, giving themselves greedily to the cult of the golden calf, probably a cherubic symbol of Jehovah, rather than an adaptation of the Mnevis or Apis-worship of Egypt, and later sinking even to the degrading idolatry of Baal and the Syrian divinities.

*Unity of the Temple.*—In order that the Hebrews should be further impressed with the idea of a single God, Moses would not allow them to have a number of temples like other nations. Before they possessed a country or could have a temple of stone, while they were yet in the desert of Sinai, after the law had been given, he raised for them a tabernacle, or tent-temple, to accompany them in their wanderings. The outer enclosure was a double square, composed of canvas screens, the tabernacle was situated in the square towards the west, and the laver and altar of burnt offerings in that towards the east. The inner sanctuary, or Holy of Holies, contained the ark, in which were the tables of the law and the mercy seat, with the cherubim, symbolising the throne of the Divine presence. This ark consisted of an oblong box of acacia wood, overlaid with pure gold within and without. Four golden rings placed at the corners served to receive bars of acacia wood overlaid with gold, by which the ark was carried. A veil separated the Holy of Holies from the remainder of the sanctuary, and the high-priest alone could enter there once in each year. The Tabernacle remained the only temple of the Israelites throughout their wanderings, and after their conquest of Canaan, until David took Jerusalem. It was at last, under Solomon, transformed into a magnificent temple. This temple was built at Jerusalem of stone and cedar wood. Its arrangement was identical with that of the Tabernacle, and the dimensions of each part exactly double the dimensions of its pattern.

Notwithstanding the size of Palestine, this temple was intended to remain the one place of worship, and every son of Israel was to go there to attend the great solemnities. It was a symbol both of religious and political unity. But the situation of Jerusalem at the south of Palestine must have rendered these journeys very

difficult, and have contributed not a little to the ultimate separation of the ten tribes, who raised their own altars and formed, about 976 B.C., the kingdom of Israel, with Samaria\* for its capital.

*The Ritual: the Sacrifices.*—The sacrifices that were common to all the religions of antiquity were in use amongst the Hebrews also, by whom the idea of sacrifice as propitiatory and eucharistic was generally felt; but the highest idea of sacrifice as representing the dedication of himself, body and soul, by the offerer of the sacrifice to the service of Jehovah, was very commonly obscured by grosser conceptions. The prophets, the representatives of spiritual religion as opposed to sacerdotalism, indignant at this, frequently preached against the sacrifices, and in the Psalms, too, they are spoken of as in themselves of little worth.

Sacrifices were offered in the order of their importance. First, the sin-offering, to open access to God; second, the burnt-offering, in sign of dedication to Him; last, the unbloody meat-offering of thanksgiving. Among the meat-offerings were the first-fruits at the Passover, at Pentecost, and at the harvest time; and the loaves called the Shewbread, renewed every Sabbath.

In other respects the Hebrew religion was much more private than public. Fasting, prayers, strict observances respecting the purity of the body and the food, voluntary abstinence in fulfilment of a vow, all proved the sincerity of the true Israelite. His was a personal religion, for the daily home life, and quite different from the gross superstitions and fantastic ceremonies of the neighbouring nations.

The laws of purity prescribed by Moses may, up to a certain point, be considered as sanitary rules, in general use amongst Oriental populations, strengthened by religious awe; but corporeal purity was for the Israelite the outward symbol of spiritual purity. The laws of Moses also included a number of prescriptions regu-

\* Destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar's army in 586 B.C. The Temple was rebuilt by Zerubbabel about 520 B.C., after the return from captivity, on a larger scale, though without the old magnificence. King Herod, about B.C. 7, began to build a much larger temple on the same plan. This temple only lasted a short time, being destroyed by Titus, A.D. 70.

lating food, generally based upon hygienic principles. They forbade, for instance, the use of swine's flesh, which is most injurious to the health in hot countries.

Some of the Hebrews voluntarily made vows of special self-consecration. These were called Nazarites. They abstained entirely from drinking wine or other intoxicating liquors; they allowed their hair to grow, and carefully avoided the pollution of contact with a dead body. There were two classes, Nazarites of days, that is for a fixed period, and Nazarites for life.

*The Sabbath: the Feasts.*—The fourth commandment of the Decalogue imposed the sanctification of one day in seven, the Sabbath. The strict observance of complete abstinence from work on that day was one of the distinctive features of the religious life of the Hebrew nation. But even when the Pharisees had exaggerated this abstinence from labour into abstinence from all action, social pleasures were not prohibited. The Sabbath day was a holy day; the very food had to be prepared the day before. It was intended to remind the Israelite that his time was the Lord's, not his own. And as every seventh day was sacred, so was every seventh month, every seventh year, and every forty-ninth year, as winding up seven weeks of years. Every seventh year the earth was to celebrate her sabbath, her rest. This was the Sabbatical year, during which the people were not allowed to sow the fields, nor to prune the vines; an enforced repose, which reminded the people that the land was not theirs, but the Lord's. The aim of the Sabbatical year was a beneficent one. What the land produced during this year belonged, first to the poor, and secondly to the beasts of the field. Beneficent, too, was the Sabbath day, protecting from labour the bondsman and the stranger, and even the domestic animals.

The three great annual festivals of the Israelites were the Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles. The Passover, which celebrated the departure from Egypt, lasted seven days. On the eve of the feast, each family, standing girt as for a journey, eat the paschal lamb, with bitter herbs and unleavened bread. Hence arose a second name of the solemnity, the Feast of

Unleavened Bread. At this feast also the first sheaf of harvest, a sheaf of barley, the earliest of the cereals, was waved by the priest before the Lord. Fifty days later, the people commemorated the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. Moses called this The Feast of Weeks (seven weeks after the Passover) ; it was also called "The Feast of Harvest," and its distinguishing ritual observance consisted in the offering of the two first loaves of the wheat harvest to be waved before the Lord. At a later date, the Greek name of Pentecost was substituted. On the fifteenth day of the seventh month was held the last great festival of the year, the Feast of Tabernacles, or the Ingathering. It was now autumn, the chief products of the land, corn, wine, and oil, had been gathered in, and this festival was a sort of harvest thanksgiving, a special season of rejoicing. It was also a remembrance of the time when the Israelites dwelt in tents in their wanderings in the wilderness. During the seven days of the festival, the Hebrews lived in booths, made of the boughs of trees, which were erected in the streets, the squares, or the courts of the houses. Five days before the great feast of rejoicing, the Feast of Tabernacles, the great day of national humiliation, the Day of Atonement, was kept as a most solemn Sabbath. It was on this day alone that the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies, and that the goat on which the lot "for Azazel" had fallen, after the High Priest had confessed over it the sins of the people, was led away into the wilderness, and there set free.

*The Spiritual Character of the Hebrew Religion.*—The feasts of the Hebrews, however their outward ritual might vary, had always a high moral significance. It was this moral element which distinguished their religion from any other of the ancient creeds. Theirs was really a spiritual religion. Surrounded by nations who translated their religious ideas into the most fantastic materialism, the Hebrews devoted themselves to the worship of a God who, while imperceptible to the senses, was yet omnipresent, and the seen world became to them the symbol of the unseen.

Faith, purity of conscience, confidence in the justice of God and submission to his will, a deep feeling of humility and a full con-

sciousness of human frailty, hope in the divine mercy—these are the virtues which, according to the Hebrews, ought to distinguish the man who fears the Lord. Throughout the Old Testament, particularly in the Psalms, we see to what elevated moral ideas, to what depth of religious fervour, the Hebrew could attain; and the language of penitence, of prayer and praise which expressed the feelings of a devout shepherd three thousand years ago, is still, in the end of the nineteenth century, found adequate to express the same feelings for men of alien races and in the most advanced civilizations.

Still, the God of the Old Testament is generally represented simply as a terrible because a righteous God, and the fear of the psalmists, like the threats of the prophets, show us that the Hebrews were more convinced of God's justice and wrath against sinners than confident of His love of mankind. This difference in the view of God's character is one of the chief distinctions between Judaism and Christianity.

*The Priesthood.*—The sacerdotal class amongst the Hebrews must not be confused with the analogous classes found in other nations, for instance amongst the Egyptians. All the Hebrews were God's chosen people, "a kingdom of priests," all were equal before Him. The whole nation was to be a Priest and a Prophet among the nations of mankind. The priesthood finds no place in the first proclamation of the Decalogue. It appears with the Tabernacle as a temporary means necessary to lead the people on to realise their lofty destiny. One tribe, that of Levi, was selected to guard the Tabernacle, to preserve the creed and the traditions, but they might not offer the sacrifices or perform the ceremonial ritual. The Levites were to be the sacerdotal tribe, succeeding to the earlier priesthood of the first-born as representatives of the holiness of the nation. They were to have no territorial possessions. Their income was to be derived from the annual tithes of the agricultural produce, from which they again offered a tithe to the priesthood, thus admitting their higher calling. The Priests, "the sons of Aaron," were descended from Aaron's family, in which the priesthood was hereditary, and were expected to lead

consecrated lives. During the time of their ministrations they were obliged to abstain from wine and other fermented liquors. Robed in long white linen garments (the whole costume was carefully laid down in the law of Moses), the priests assisted the High Priest in his watch over the ever-burning fire on the altar of burnt offerings, filled with oil the golden lamp outside the veil, offered the sacrifices of morning and evening at the door of the Tabernacle, above all, were on the spot ready to do the priest's office for any Israelite who might come, whether in penitence for guilt or in thankfulness for blessing.

The maintenance of the priests consisted of one-tenth of the tithes paid to the Levites by the whole nation, of a special tithe every third year, the redemption money for the first-born of men and of cattle, of spoils taken in war, of the perquisites of their office, the shewbread, the flesh of the offerings, of first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil. The priests had besides thirteen cities assigned to them, not like the cities assigned the Levites scattered over all the land, but in the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin. The dignity of High Priest was hereditary in the house of Aaron, and his office was to minister in the Temple and lead the worship on new moons and at important festivals. He alone, and that but once a year, on the day of Atonement, might enter the Holy of Holies. He was the supreme representative of the holiness of the people; and his life was pre-eminently a consecrated life. The priests were, it is evident from the functions mentioned in Deuteronomy, intended to act as judges and also to teach the statutes of the Lord, but these functions were not discharged by them after the first hundred years of their institution.

*The Prophets.*—As Moses founded the priestly order, so Samuel was the organizer, if not the founder, of the prophetic. At that time, the time of the Judges, the priesthood had sunk very low, and it was as a religious reformer that Samuel developed the prophetic order. There were isolated prophets before Samuel, but he first formed the colleges of the prophets. In these quiet retreats the students, under the supervision of an older prophet, studied the law and its interpretation, together with music and the art of sacred

poetry. From these colleges the prophets went forth to teach the nation.

One college was established at Ramah, Samuel's native town and residence, and under his immediate presidency. There were colleges also at Bethel, at Gilgal, and Jericho. These companies of prophets were destined to exercise great influence, and to rank amongst the reforming powers as well as the religious teachers of the nation. They interpreted the spirit of the law to the priests, who were often too much attached to material worship, and they endeavoured to prevent the encroachments of the royal power even in the hands of an Ahab. The prophets were gathered from all the tribes; as a rule they did not renounce their ordinary occupations, their family ties, nor even marriage; but their food and manner of life was simple, often even ascetic in the extreme.

The prophets who received the prophetic gift generally came from the colleges of prophets; but there were exceptions, for instance, Amos, the herdsman. The four great and the twelve minor prophets, whose utterances we possess, exemplify the presence of the prophetic gift in its fulness. These men did not content themselves with pouring out their souls before God or with analysing their personal feeling before him; they preached; they combated the people's continual lapses into idolatry; they warned them against paganism; they stimulated their zeal and reawakened their religious ardour. Emboldened by the assurance that they were in actual communion with God, they forced themselves into the presence of unjust kings and denounced them with a freedom that provoked martyrdom. Patriots and preachers of patriotism, they endeavoured to animate the religious enthusiasm of the nation, because in a theocracy like that of the Hebrews religious faith was identified with patriotism, and their religion supported their courage, united their tribes, and was, in a measure, the cause of their existence, the essential condition of their nationality. The Hebrews were a small isolated population, placed in the midst of powerful monarchies, and they could never have defended themselves except through the extraordinary unity and courage they derived from their faith. When this faith

declined they only resembled the surrounding nations, and their material weakness being no longer balanced by moral force they could not escape falling into slavery. The prophets fully realised this fact, and they endeavoured to make the Hebrews realise it too, at the same time consoling them by their prophecies against Nineveh, Babylon, and Egypt. Possessed of profound insight, they were under no illusions respecting the want of solidity in the surrounding empires, and they foretold their destruction in eloquent and graphic language.

The predictive element was also strong in the great representatives of the prophetic office. They looked forward to a distant future, and spoke of the Messiah's reign, of the golden age He would bring, and of the triumph of the monotheist faith. This triumph, which they foretold with unswerving confidence, was the climax towards which the whole progressive development of the religions of humanity was tending. This was the ideal future which was always present to their imagination, and which they frequently described under the image of a Messiah or sacred king of the royal race of David.

The prophets were, in short, the poets of the nation as well as its historians and annalists. They were the leaders of independent politics, the preachers of patriotism, exponents of the moral and spiritual meaning of the law, the direct moral teachers of the nation; finally, to their intense spiritual vision time was no obstacle, and the future was seen almost as clearly as the present.

*The different Forms of Government.*—The Hebrews undoubtedly shared, with many other nations, the vicissitudes of national life. They passed through a full experience of the various forms of government; first the patriarchal, then the federative. Moses, while welding the twelve tribes into a single nation, established a theocracy, not a despotism; and for several centuries the Hebrews retained a democratic government. In each town the Elders of the people had the power of judging criminal cases. Seventy Elders of Israel managed the affairs of the confederation, and there were also twelve chiefs or princes of the tribes or families. The judges



who at intervals governed Israel were leaders whom public gratitude invested with power for their lives, but without any modification of republican institutions. The sacerdotal class did not constitute a power in the State, but they had, nevertheless, sufficient influence to delay the institution of a monarchy for a considerable period.

In the opinion of all true Israelites, the King of the Hebrews was Jehovah, and the prophet Samuel resisted the demands of the people, because he feared that the king's authority would make them forget the supremacy of Jehovah, and also that the king would encroach upon the domain of religion. The troubles Samuel had foreseen came in due course. Saul, a successful king, soon began to usurp the priestly functions ; he offered sacrifice himself. Samuel at once denounced him, and told him that his house was rejected by Jehovah. David was anointed and became the perfect type of Hebraic royalty.

David, like Saul, was a military chief, but he was also deeply religious, and submitted willingly to the rebukes of the prophets. He was equally successful as a politician, a warrior, and a poet. He extended the Jewish empire, gave it a capital, Jerusalem, where he established the tabernacle and the ark, and whilst flattering the pride of the nation, reanimated its faith. The temporal and spiritual powers, although perfectly distinct in the Hebrew monarchy, supported each other, and for this reason the Hebrew monarchy became the model of Christian monarchies in the Middle Ages and in modern times.

The harmony between the two powers was at first maintained by Solomon, but he was afterwards led away by the "strange women" with whom he filled his harem, influenced by whom he introduced the cruel and impure worship of Moloch, Chemosh and Ashtoreth. With luxury and idolatry came oppression ; and excessive taxation and the *corvée* of compulsory labour weighed heavily upon the nation during the reign of its most powerful and magnificent monarch. After the time of Solomon, in Israel as well as in Judah, it is only at intervals that we find princes who were religious and followed the instructions of the prophets. The kings became mere

Eastern despots, and tried to overturn the national religion, which was essentially opposed to such lawless government, by encouraging foreign idolatries. They formed alliances with the despots of the neighbouring kingdoms and introduced the impure worship of the gods of the neighbouring nations into the place of the spiritual worship of Jehovah, thus paving the way for the national ruin, by weakening the religious and moral life, which alone was able to sustain a people numerically so weak.

*Society, the Family.*—Family ties, the primitive basis of all government, were next to religion the foundation of Hebrew society, which was perhaps more strongly and justly constituted than society in any other ancient nation. The paternal authority was sacred; the Decalogue contained a stringent command to honour the father and, what is more remarkable, the mother. The wife occupied a position of considerable independence and equality in the early and purer life of the Hebrew nation; and even when luxury had begun to do its work, the description of the virtuous wife, and of her place in a rightly-ordered household, preserved in the Book of Proverbs, shows that an equal and harmonious friendship, rather than the subjection of an odalisque to her master, was the Hebrew ideal of marriage. The Mosaic law, however, with regard to the division of property, treated daughters as inferior, for they only inherited when there was no son, and on condition that they did not marry out of their own tribe. Marriage was strictly protected and regulated by the religious laws; although forbidden amongst the nearest relations, whether by blood or affinity, it was allowed amongst members of the same family or of the same tribe. Foreign alliances were prohibited, and this preserved the integrity of the race and the originality of the Hebrew type. The people themselves, and especially the priests, carefully treasured their genealogies, and the Bible contains many family pedigrees with all their branches. We also find there a great many incidents which show us the active part taken by women in public affairs; they were allowed to prophesy and also to command warriors. And the strength of Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah, are found side by side with the gentler

grace of such women as Rebecca, Rachel, Ruth, or Esther, showing the same diversity of character and freedom for varied development in women as in men.

Slavery was recognised by the Mosaic law, but the slave was to be regarded as a member of the family and to be treated as such, for slavery was only temporary amongst the Hebrews. A distinction, however, was drawn between Hebrew and foreign slaves; the latter, although humanely treated, was legal property, but the former held almost the position of servants for wages. "And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bondservant: but as a hired servant and as a sojourner he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee. And then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour; but shalt fear thy God." \* If the year of jubilee did not come first, at the expiration of six years from the time his service commenced the Hebrew slave went free. He could also go free at any time if he paid the sum for which his servitude had been enforced.

*Property in land: the Jubilee.*—The sabbatical year, which obliged the Hebrews to let their fields lie fallow every seventh year, and to leave for the poor whatever the earth produced during that year, is characteristic of the way in which land was regarded, not as the absolute property of the individual, but as held by him from God. Moreover, at the end of seven times seven years—that is, every forty-nine years—the jubilee year, the fiftieth, was celebrated.† During that year not only did the earth rest, but all contracts of sale were annulled, and each one entered again into possession of the land alienated. This custom has been much commented upon; it appeared to deny, and at the same time to consecrate, the ownership of land; to deny it since the purchaser was despoiled, to con-

\* Levit. xxv. 39, 40, 43.

† The year of redemption was proclaimed by the "rushing penetrating sound" of some kind of horn; and it is probably from this that the word Jubilee is derived.

secrete it since land was declared inalienable. The Jubilee is explained by the Hebrew view of property as given by God, a heritage belonging to tribes and families rather than to individuals. The object of the Jubilee was thus to re-establish every fifty years the equilibrium between the possessions and wealth of the families and tribes, to prevent the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few, and the extreme poverty which this implies in the lot of the many. The Jubilee vindicated the right of each Hebrew to his part in the land which God had given to his forefathers. This idea respecting property still exists amongst the nomad Arab tribes who belong, like the Hebrews, to the Semitic family. Of course the purchaser only paid a price determined according to the time that was to elapse between the date of the sale and the Jubilee. For house property the difficulty must have been great in any case, therefore the law was thus modified: "If a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; within a full year may he redeem it. And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year then the house that is in the walled city shall be established for ever to him that bought it throughout his generations; it shall not go out in the Jubilee."\* Thus we find freehold property by the side of temporary, and, in a sense, socialistic property; that is, property held not merely for the advantage of the individual, but in the interests of the whole society. In the year of Jubilee, too, if we could believe Josephus, though the silence of the Old Testament makes this very doubtful, debts fell into abeyance; but debts were never for large amounts, for Moses forbade the loan of money on usury, and a loan was almost regarded as an alms. But the general object of legislation was to prevent extreme misery. The rich were obliged to make allowances to the poor, and were not allowed to exercise their rights of property in a too arbitrary fashion. "When ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of the field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest. And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger."†

\* Levit. xxv. 29, 30.

† Levit. xix. 9, 10.

Thus the Jubilee was a constant witness for the great social principles on which the theocracy was established; and owing to the brotherly feeling fostered amongst the Hebrews by their whole legal system, we do not find the exaggerated social differences, nor any of the class hatred, so common in European civilizations in our own time.

*Penal Laws.*—The penal laws were severe. For sins against God—what in a theocracy might be called high treason—such as idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking, the punishment was death by stoning. The same punishment was awarded for disobedience to or smiting of parents. Death was also the punishment of murder, of adultery, of rape, &c. Assault was punished by the *lex talionis*, or damages. Among the Hebrews alone of ancient nations infractions of the law of personal purity were severely punished. The judges were chosen from amongst the elders of the people and their most venerated representatives.

*Agriculture, Industry, Commerce.*—The Hebrews were a pastoral people before the conquest of Canaan, but immediately after settling in the promised land they changed the pastoral life for the agricultural.

Cereals, wine, and fruit were the chief sources of wealth. The harvest was a feast as well as the vintage. "And gladness is taken away," says Isaiah, "and joy out of the plentiful field, and in the vineyards there shall be no singing, neither shall there be shouting; the treaders shall tread out no wine in their presses, I have made their vintage shouting to cease." \* The Hebrews do not appear to have occupied themselves much with industries, and were often obliged, like David and Solomon, to send for foreign workmen. From the time of the construction of the Temple, the increase of luxury and prosperity leads us to suppose that the manufacture of stuffs, the art of dyeing, the fabrication of furniture and of armour, developed greatly. At an early date the Hebrews appreciated the value of gold and precious stones. It was with the earrings and bracelets of their wives and children that they made the golden calf, and it was also with their jewels that Moses

\* Isaiah xvi. 10.

found means to ornament the Tabernacle. The Assyrians, too, at a later date, found a rich booty at Jerusalem, and carried away a great quantity of articles of gold and silver.

Among the Hebrews commerce was at first discouraged, for foreign intercourse would have endangered the purity of the national religion by bringing the Hebrews into contact with the idolatry of the neighbouring peoples. But in the reign of Solomon the Hebrews engaged in commercial operations, like the surrounding nations. This was the result of Solomon's alliance with Hiram, King of Tyre. An active trade sprang up between the Phœnician cities and Jerusalem. Joppa was opened as a port, and the precious materials for the Temple conveyed by way of Joppa to Jerusalem. Solomon possessed vessels which left the port of Ezion-geber, on the Red Sea, and he shared with the Phœnicians the trade with Ophir and Sheba, Arabia Felix and Ceylon, or India. Elath and Ezion-geber were filled with merchant ships, built at Solomon's expense and manned by Phœnicians, and Solomon himself visited the scene of the shipbuilding on the Red Sea. Jehoshaphat at a later date was greatly interested in the Red Sea trade with the East.

*Literature and Science.*—The whole literature of the Hebrews is included in the collection of prose and poetry which we call the Bible, or, to be more accurate, the Old Testament. The simplicity of its narratives, the enthusiasm of its hymns, the joyful or plaintive melody of the Psalms, the fiery eloquence of the prophets, place the Bible, independently of its religious and historical importance, high among the great literary monuments of antiquity. Their literature is a proof that the poetic imagination was fully developed amongst the Hebrews, and that the people were deeply thoughtful as well as passionately religious.

The prose style of Hebrew literature, that is of the historical books of the Bible, is simple, vivid, and picturesque; but it is in the poetical books that the strength and beauty of the language are seen. Hebrew poetry is mostly lyric; but there are also admirable examples of gnomic or didactic poetry. There is no epic poem in the Hebrew language; and the dramatic element

in Job by no means makes that book a drama. There is more resemblance to dramatic arrangement in the Song of Songs; but that it was ever intended for the stage remains to be proved. The search for metre in Hebrew poetry has exercised the ablest Hebraists in vain. "Hebrew poetry," it has been well said, "is universal poetry; the poetry of all languages and of all peoples. The collocation of words is primarily directed to secure the best possible announcement and discrimination of the sense; let, then, a translator only be literal, and, so far as the genius of his language will permit, let him preserve the original order of the words, and he will infallibly put the reader in possession of all or nearly all that the Hebrew text can give to the best Hebrew scholar of the present day."

The harmony of Hebrew verse does not arise from rhyme or metre, but from parallelism; which has been defined as the correspondence of one line with another. The style of Hebrew poetry, however, is found in its admirable expression of high thoughts in the best language. It is intensely national and local. The poets borrowed their imagery direct from nature and from the life of the people, and thus gained distinctness and the colouring and movement of actual life.

*The Arts.*—The law of Moses having prohibited the representation of God in any visible form, and the making of images with the intention of worshipping them, the fine arts were in a measure interdicted. Neither painting nor sculpture was found amongst the Hebrews. The Israelites were originally dwellers in tents; but, after the occupation of Canaan, they lived in towns in houses of stone, no doubt adopting the modes of architecture which they found already in use in the land. That they made small progress in architecture seems plain from the description of Solomon's Temple, which was an exact copy of the sacred tent or Tabernacle, the dimensions being simply doubled, and durable materials being employed. Zerubbabel's Temple was larger, but less sumptuous in splendour of internal decoration, and this it is plain is what the Hebrews regarded as the standard of excellence in a building. What carving there was appears to have been chiefly

the representation of fruits and flowers, and was probably the work of Phœnician craftsmen.

The art of music, however, was highly cultivated amongst the Hebrews, and it formed a regular part of the public worship. The Temple was the central school of music for the nation. A great variety of instruments accompanied the songs of the Temple choir, such as psalteries or viols and harps; wind instruments, flutes, trumpets, and lastly noisier instruments, such as tambourines and cymbals. But we have no exact information respecting the music, which apparently was not written down, but was transmitted by tradition.

In private as well as in religious life, music was highly esteemed and cultivated by the Hebrews. There were musicians attached to the Court, and music was a regular accompaniment of the banquet. "The harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe and wine," says Isaiah, "are in their feasts." Music accompanied the triumphal processions of victorious leaders and kings, enlivened the bridal processions, swelled the wailing chant of the mourners at the funerals. Even the peasants sang at their work; the grape-gatherers, as they gathered the vintage; the treaders of the wine-press, as they trod out the grape juice; and the women as they laboured at the mill.

*General Characteristics of the Hebrew People : Their Moral Grandeur.*—The Hebrews were not an artistic or an industrial people; but they possessed an indisputable superiority to all other nations of antiquity in their purely spiritual religion, and in their appreciation of the supreme importance of morals as the proper expression of religion. Religion was their rule of life, the maker of their laws, the pervading spirit of the whole community, as in no other nation before or since. A population thus detached in some measure from material aims, absorbed in the worship of an invisible but omnipresent King, free from superstition and idolatry, scrupulous observers of the laws that regulate family life, taught by their sacred legal code to be disinterested and charitable, making social justice an essential part of their religion, the Hebrews fully recognised the dignity of humanity. Although the doctrine of the



immortality of the soul was not distinctly known to the Hebrews, who commonly regarded the grave as the end of sentient existence, "the land where all things are forgotten," the whole tenor of their sacred books shows us their intense belief in the spiritual world. And such incidents as the calling up for Saul of the soul of Samuel by the Witch of Endor, point at least to some shadowy belief in an existence after death. The social organization founded on such high principles was justly arranged and was free from the excessive inequalities we find amongst other nations. The only aristocracy, if a privileged class may be called an aristocracy, was the tribe of Levi and the house of Aaron; but they were not like other aristocracies, for they were not even allowed to be landholders at all.

The national acceptance of a theocracy, made for individual liberty and social equality. First there was religious and civil equality. Then social equality was promoted by the tendency of the law of Moses to produce equality of possessions. The division of the land into inalienable hereditary portions—inalienable that is for more than a term of years—combined the advantages of individualism and socialism, and at once checked pauperism and the inordinate accumulation of property by individuals. The Mosaic law of debtor and creditor made lending to the needy a duty and forbade all interest. It is plain, too, that the Mosaic law, while not actually forbidding slavery, endeavoured to mitigate it, and by limiting the years of servitude transformed the Hebrew slave into a sort of apprentice.

The Hebrew nation, then, may be taken as the conservators of ideal religion—a sublime Monotheism which recognised the holiness of the Supreme Will—and also of an ideal social state, in which the interests of the society and of the individual were harmoniously adjusted. The work of the Hebrew nation devolved upon the Christian society or church, which has too commonly forgotten that it has an ideal social life, as well as an ideal individual life, to establish among its members.

*Causes of the Ruin of Jewish Independence.*—The independence of the Hebrew nation, which had been weakened by the despotism

of the kings and the lawlessness and irreligion of the people, practically ended with the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. Although the remnant of the nation were restored to Palestine after the Captivity, they were able only for a short time, under the leadership of the Maccabean family and against the strength of Syria, to form an independent state, of which Aristobulus I. (B.C. 104) was the first high priest who assumed the title of king.

The Romans, under Cn. Pompeius, took Jerusalem after a severe struggle (B.C. 63), and Hyrcanus was continued as high priest, but without the title of king. Herod the Great, appointed by the Romans King of Judæa, took Jerusalem (B.C. 37) and reigned there till his death, thirty-three years later. Judæa then became an ordinary Roman province, and in 26 A.D. Pontius Pilate replaced Valerius Gratus as procurator, and under him (A.D. 33) Jesus was crucified. Frequent and fierce conflicts between the Jews and the Romans continued through a long period of years. The rapacious tyranny of Florus, the then procurator, led to the final revolt against Rome, closing with the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, and its capture and destruction A.D. 70.

With the fall of Jerusalem the dispersion of the Jewish nation was complete, and neither the revolt of Bar Cocheba nor the attempt instituted by the Emperor Julian to rebuild the Temple on Mount Moriah, met with success.

*Fate of the Jews after the Dispersion: The Talmud.*—Thus the Jews were left without a centre for national life or national worship. But a large part of the Jews of the Captivity had remained behind in Mesopotamia. There they had flourished greatly, while powerful communities had as far back as the time of Alexander the Great begun to settle in Alexandria and other cities.

Preserved by their religion from amalgamating with other nations, they kept apart and self-dependent, maintaining unchanged their worship and their national spirit. Power had already passed from the representatives of ritual, the priests, to the representatives of learning, the rabbis.

It was in such circumstances that the Talmud was compiled. The Talmud (Doctrine) consisted of two parts :—

1st. The Mishna (second law) was a digest of the Jewish traditions and a compendium of the ritual law, collected and arranged in the second century by the great Rabbi Jehudah, the holy patriarch of Tiberias.

2nd. The Gemara (supplement) was composed of notes or commentaries on the Mishna. These were again divided into two Gemaras, that of Jerusalem not later than the first half of the fourth century ; and that of Babylon, compiled by Rabbi Asche, and completed seventy-three years after his death by Rabbi Jose (A.D. 500).

After the triumph of Christianity and its formal establishment by Constantine the Great, the contest between the synagogue and the church commenced, and a fanatical development of Christianity issued in severe laws against the members of the Jewish communities.

*The Jews in the Middle Ages.*—The barbaric invasion at first ameliorated the condition of the Jews, especially in those countries where Christianity took the form of Arianism. In the disorganization of society the Jews, sojourners and not citizens, suffered little ; commerce passed into their hands and the sale to them both of church plate and of Christian slaves became an open scandal and had to be dealt with by law. Order had not long been established among the kingdoms that rose on the ruins of the Roman Empire, when the tide of Mohammedan conquest swept over Asia, North Africa, and Spain. Mohammed himself in Arabia persecuted the Jews ; but elsewhere, though treated as inferiors, they must have rejoiced in the change from Christian to Mohammedan masters.

In Spain especially the triumph of the Crescent was hailed with joy by the Jews, who had suffered sanguinary persecutions during the ascendancy of the Cross.

This was the golden age of modern Judaism. The Jews became powerful and enormously wealthy in France as well as in Spain. The commerce of Europe passed largely into their hands. Cordova

was the centre of civilization under the Moor—and to Cordova Moses, a Babylonian Rabbi, brought the learning of the great Jewish schools. At Cordova that learning flourished, and may be said to culminate in the great Moses Maimonides, the founder of religious rationalism.

The Jews breathed again under the rule of the Caliphs; their schools increased both in Spain and in the East. Jews held rank in the Caliph's Court, and Abderahman III., the Caliph of Cordova (945), had a Jew as his doctor and minister. Jews were foremost in the advancement of the Arabian philosophy of Spain, and none more so than Solomon ben Ghebirol, better known as Avicbron.

The feudal system had no place for the Jews, and the Crusades ushered in a period of horrible misery; on all sides the Christians inaugurated their expeditions to the Holy Land by massacres of the Jews. To the popular prejudice against the Jews, was added the methodical persecution of the sovereigns; but these persecutions were intermittent, undertaken according to the convenience of the moment, and chiefly for the purpose of obtaining money from the victims. The Jews were allowed to enrich themselves and then their wealth was confiscated. They were treated like a sponge, which is allowed to fill and then pressed out; subjected to humiliating laws, penned up in separate quarters of the towns or villages, detested yet found indispensable, the Jews during the whole of the Middle Ages, in France, Italy, England and Germany, were forced to submit to every description of outrage. And in spite of it all, they lived, increased in number, returned hatred for hatred to the Christians, and believed themselves quite justified in defrauding by stratagem those who robbed them by force.

*The Jews in Modern Times.*—But if they found an asylum in the East, the Jews lost their second home in Spain. They had become very numerous there under the Mohammedan rule, and in no other land had their prosperity, power, and learning been so great since the dispersion. Jewish tradition looks back to Mohammedan Spain, and even to Christian Spain before the persecutions, as a haven of freedom and happiness. But the victory of

the Cross disturbed their peaceful existence. The clergy were ringleaders of the persecution, and the civil power sustained the ecclesiastical. The fanaticism of Ferdinand and Isabella delivered over the Jews of Spain to the tender mercies of the Inquisition. The new Christians, doubtful converts from Judaism, were exposed to the full fury of the persecution directed by the infamous Torquemada. In 1492 appeared the terrible edict commanding all unbaptized Jews to leave Spain within six months on pain of death. About three hundred thousand left the country, which had become another land of Egypt to them, and Europe witnessed this second Exodus without troubling to interfere. The blow struck at the prosperity of Spain by the expulsion of the Jews may be considered one of the causes operative in the decline of Spanish power. With the Moors and with the Jews disappeared the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the Peninsula. Nevertheless many of the noble families of Spain have Jewish blood in their veins. The expelled Jews sought refuge in other lands, especially among the Mohammedans of Morocco and Turkey.

In speaking of the Jews their expectation of the Messiah must not be forgotten. As late as 1666, for instance, the whole Jewish world was filled with the intensest excitement by the assumption of the name and authority of the Messiah by a young Jew of Smyrna.

In modern times the introduction of progressive and liberal ideas, the softening and refining of manners, enabled the Jews to find rest. They were still excluded from civil life, but they were free. In Holland they formed an important colony and contributed greatly to the prosperity of the country by their aptitude for commerce, which had developed in the most extraordinary way during the ages of persecution. Even when engaged in trade they never ceased to think and to write, and in the seventeenth century a great intellect, Baruch Spinoza (1632—1677), issued from amongst them, but separated himself from Judaism by the pantheism of his philosophy.

At last in the eighteenth century, toleration triumphed. The wave of liberalism which issued from the French revolution finally

emancipated the Jews, they blended with the other citizens, entered public offices, and distinguished themselves in every career. They had their synagogues, celebrated their ritual, which time had greatly modified, and whilst associating themselves with the interests of whatever country they had chosen, never forgot their native land. Though in England the Jews are now qualified to sit as members of Parliament, their emancipation is not yet complete in all civilized countries; in Germany, in Roumania, in Hungary, in Russia, explosions of hatred too often break out in our own days, because the Jews have become wealthy, powerful, and numerous in these countries: this is called the anti-Semitic movement.

The Jews still maintain an intense national feeling, and hope for ultimate restoration to Palestine. They thus present a unique phenomenon in history: dispersed everywhere, without any fixed country, blended with all nations, yet distinct strangers in the midst of all; obeying the laws of the most varied governments, without renouncing their own; wandering without being nomad; united under hostile flags, and considering themselves a nation although they no longer possess either centre or chief; scattered in all quarters of the globe, yet maintaining their nationality by a community of religion, of interests, of recollections, and of hopes; a people destroyed a hundred times, yet always to rise again, who, during eighteen centuries, have not been able to regain their country, yet survive unchanged by time or environment.

## CHAPTER V.

### PHœNICIAN COMMERCE.

**SUMMARY:** The Phœnician Confederation—Phœnician Colonies—Mines in Spain—Maritime and Land Commerce—Phœnician Industries: Glass and Purple—Phœnician Religion—Phœnician Writing: Origin of European Alphabet—Phœnician Influence—Carthage: her Situation and Empire—Carthaginian Commerce and Navigation—Causes of the Fall of Carthage.

*The Phœnician Confederation.*—By the side of the Hebrew nation, which owed its grandeur to its moral and religious development, dwelt the Phœnicians, a people who owed their fame to their maritime and commercial enterprise. They occupied a narrow strip of land between Lebanon and the Mediterranean, Phœnicia proper being but 28 miles long by one to five miles broad, and the territory of the Phœnicians being, at the utmost, no more than 120 miles long by 20 wide. If (which is certainly doubtful) a Hamite race, they had, beyond question, a Semitic language. The Canaanites were of the same race as the Phœnicians, and it is possible that the first Hebrew emigrants from the Mesopotamian Plain changed their original Aramaic language for the language of the Canaanites among whom they found themselves. The forests which clothed the chain of Lebanon supplied the Phœnicians with timber for their ships, and they soon made the Mediterranean a high road for their navy. Enclosed by mountains in a country that prevented their acquiring any inland empire, they became a maritime power, the first in the ancient world in order of importance as in order of time. Egyptian documents (a papyrus in the British Museum, for instance) mention the Phœnician towns of

Gebal, Beryta, Sidon, Sarepta, &c., as early as sixteen or seventeen centuries before the Christian era. The Phœnicians served as middlemen to the great civilizations of the Nile and the Euphrates, their vessels easily coasting along to the mouth of the Nile, and their caravans having but a short journey to reach the point where the middle Euphrates almost touches Upper Syria, whence the current would carry them down to the quays of Babylon.

Their towns were built at short distances from one another, and Aradus, Tripolis, Gebal or Byblus, Berytus (Beyrout), Sidon, Sarepta, and Tyre, formed a long street of emporiums of mercantile wealth and enterprise, on the right side of Syria. The Phœnician cities were united by community of race, of interests, and of religion, and this resulted in a league, under the supremacy, at first, of Sidon, afterwards of Tyre. Each town had its laws, its fleets, and its colonies, its government aristocratic, but at the same time commonly monarchical. The Phœnicians, like the Jews, were for a long time a free people in the midst of the despotism which weighed down the Asiatic populations and which at last overwhelmed them also.

*The Phœnician Colonies.*—But the territory of the Phœnicians was not confined to the country which bore their name; each city was reproduced in its colonies, which were planted, long before the Greeks began to expand, in every island and on all the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. Forced to abandon Cyprus, Crete, and the islands of the Archipelago to the Greeks, the Phœnicians concentrated their efforts on the coasts of Northern Africa and Southern Spain. In Africa they founded colonies at Utica and other points along the shores of the Mediterranean, and, most important of all, at Carthage. In Spain they had great commercial centres in their settlements at Carteia (Algeciras), Gades (Cadiz, probably the Tarshish of Scripture), and Malaga (Malaga). Their empire was vast, but scattered, and when it fell did not entirely collapse, for one of their colonies, Carthage, succeeded to their place and so increased in power as to prove the most formidable antagonist of Rome in her establishment of a world-empire. The Phœnicians were hardy navigators, and not only explored the Mediterranean, where land is



rarely out of sight, and where the numerous islands furnish convenient harbours, but ventured southward and eastward upon the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and reached and traded with Ophir, probably either Ceylon or India.

To the westward the Phœnicians sailed beyond the Mediterranean and ventured upon the Atlantic Ocean. They coasted the western side of Africa, and early accounts record their discoveries of wonderful islands of marvellous fertility and charming climate, the "Fortunate Islands," probably Madeira and the Canaries. They also sailed along the coasts of Spain and Western France and reached Northern Europe. Gades was the starting point for these long and dangerous voyages, which extended as far as Great Britain, where a considerable trade in tin was carried on.

The Phœnicians were not despotic in their relations with their colonies; the latter, in fact, were copies of the mother city, and would not agree to other than filial ties between themselves and the source and centre of national life in Phœnicia proper. Every year the colonies sent a religious embassy to Tyre, and they had perpetual need of the metropolis, which was the emporium of a large maritime and land trade.

*The Mines in Spain.*—The Phœnicians were the great mining people of the ancient world. Gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, copper, and cinnabar were obtained from Spain, still the chief metalliferous country of Southern Europe. The details given by Diodorus of Sicily concerning the Spanish mines are very circumstantial. "The copper, gold, and silver mines are wonderfully productive," and "those who work the copper mines draw from the rough ore one quarter of the weight in pure metal."

*Maritime and Land Commerce.*—The Phœnicians not only brought the mineral wealth of Spain to the Eastern world, but they had also a great trade in wheat, wine, oil, fruits of all kinds, and fine wool. They provided Asia with the products of Spain and Gaul, Sicily and Africa with the products of Asia. But this maritime commerce could only be supplied by an inland trade, which served to connect the countries that were a long distance from the sea. Phœnicia found itself one of the ports of Asia, the merchandise of

distant countries was brought to it, and from it was exported all the produce of the Asian continent. The caravans supplemented the fleets, and the fleets distributed the burdens of the caravans. The land trade was chiefly in three directions—to the south it followed the route to Arabia and India; to the east, that to Assyria and Babylon; to the north, that to Armenia and the Caucasus.

*Phœnician Industries : Glass and Purple.*—The Phœnicians were not only the great maritime, the great commercial, and the great mining power of antiquity, they were also one of the chief



Phœnician Vase found in Syria and given to the Louvre by M. de Saulcy.

manufacturing powers. Like the Egyptians and Assyrians, they were skilful potters, and they discovered the art of making glass. "It is said," writes Pliny the elder, "that some Phœnician merchants, having landed on the shores of the river Belus, were preparing their meal, and not finding suitable stones for raising their saucepans, they used lumps of natron, contained in their cargo, for the purpose. When the natron was exposed to the action of the

fire, it melted into the sand lying on the banks of the river, and they saw transparent streams of some unknown liquid trickling over the ground ; this was the origin of glass." But however it may have originated, there is no doubt that the Phœnicians manufactured glass on a large scale, and their glass-work became celebrated all over the world.

The dyeing works, however, take the first rank among Phœnician industries ; the Tyrian purple was one of the chief objects of luxury among the ancients. But the word purple was not used only for a single colour, but for a particular kind of dye, for which animal colours obtained from the juice of certain shellfish (*Murex trunculus* and *Murex brandaris*) were used.

The dyeing works could not be carried on without cloths, for the Phœnicians dyed woollen materials chiefly in their famous purple. The wool came from Damascus, and the greater part of their export of woollen stuffs was doubtless of their own manufacture. Sidon was the first town that became noted for these fabrics. Homer often mentions tunics from that town, but afterwards they were manufactured all over Phœnicia, and particularly at Tyre.

Among the products of Phœnician industry we must also mention the numerous ornaments and the articles whose value depends largely on their workmanship. The trade of barter which they had so long maintained with barbaric races, amongst whom these objects always find an appreciative market, had incited the Phœnicians to apply themselves to these industries. Chains of artistically worked gold were worn by Phœnician navigators in Homer's time, and Ezekiel mentions their curious work in ivory, which they procured through Assýria from India and Ethiopia. Accident has preserved the names of only a small number of the articles produced by the Phœnicians, but the existence of these among a rich and luxurious people implies the existence of others.

*The Phœnician Religion.*—The Phœnician religion was a worship of the personified forces of nature, especially of the male and female principles of production. It was in a popular and simple form a worship of the sun, the moon, and the five planets, regarded

as intelligent powers actively affecting human life. The chief male divinity was Baal (the lord, or proprietor of all), who was, according to Movers, the Sun-god. Baal was certainly closely connected, if not identical, with the Babylonian Bel. As the general notion symbolised by Baal was that of generative power, so that symbolised by Ashtoreth was productive power. What, in short, Baal was to the male divinities that Ashtoreth was to the female, and as the sun was identified with Baal so was the moon with Ashtoreth. The Assyrian Ishtar, closely related though she was to the Sidonian Astarte, or Ashtoreth, was goddess not of the moon but of the planet Venus; and it is remarkable that Astarte is continually identified by ancient writers with the goddess and with the planet Venus. So, too, the Assyrian Bel is identified with the planet Jupiter. Of the other divinities, only Melkarth (the Phœnician Hercules), the national god to whom not only Tyre but all the colonies offered sacrifice and did homage, need be mentioned here. Want of space forbids a closer treatment of the details of the Phœnician polytheism. It may, however, be said that the worship of Ashtoreth sanctified the worst forms of impurity.

And the Phœnician religion not only consecrated licentiousness, it also sanctioned cruelty. Living children were offered as burnt sacrifices to Baal as well as to Moloch. One can scarcely understand how human sacrifices could have been endured by an intelligent people; but this abominable ritual was in force in all the colonies, and especially at Carthage, where during the siege of the city by Agathocles, about 307 B.C., two hundred boys of the best families were offered as burnt sacrifices to the planet Saturn.

*Phœnician Writing: Origin of European Alphabet.*—Though we have but few fragments of Phœnician antiquities and literature, we at least know their system of writing. It is now proved that the Phœnicians did not invent writing; they merely communicated letters to the Greeks, and the early characters, Hebrew and Phœnician, as well as Egyptian, show that the first attempt made was to represent the object which the name of the letter signified. The idea of representing component sounds or half-sounds in this

way seems to have been the origin of the invention of letters and the formation of an alphabet.

The Greeks adopted the Phœnician characters with only a few modifications; the Latin races used the same letters designed more simply; they had received them at a very remote date, for the Latin tongue was a sister not a daughter of the Greek. The French, Spanish, and Italian languages are all derived from the Latin and use the same characters, while even the Teutonic languages, like English and German, have adopted this alphabet. The Phœnicians must, on this ground alone, take a high rank in the history of civilization, since they aided to form the languages of those nations who have produced the great literary monuments of the world, and have best expressed the thoughts of humanity.

*Phœnician Influence.*—As we have seen, the Phœnicians were actually the pioneers of industry, and by their commerce they brought together the peoples of the three continents of the Old World. The first carriers by sea, acting as intermediate agents between the different nations, they exchanged ideas as well as merchandise; their exploration of different countries led to the discovery of new riches; they endowed the West with the products of the East, and the East with the products of the West. They proved to the world that cities can attain a high degree of prosperity by labour, activity, and economy, and they remain examples of the highest development of purely commercial qualities.

*Carthage: her Situation and Empire.*—After the Phœnicians had been subdued by the Assyrians, and again by the Persians, their power and prestige revived in the Carthaginians. Tyre had fallen, and Carthage, her daughter, inherited her colonies and her commercial rank. Founded by Elisa (Dido "the fugitive"), widow of Sicharbaal, about the year 872 B.C., Carthage rapidly developed into a flourishing city; she was admirably situated on a peninsula which was joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus, and possessed two ports that communicated with each other, so that she covered the Mediterranean with her vessels, and North Africa with her caravans. Indeed, she was able to extend her trade farther into Africa than Tyre had

done into Asia. Carthage was far better situated than Tyre to be the centre of a great colonial empire. Tyre was built at one end of the Mediterranean, while Carthage was in the middle, for she overlooked the widest part of that sea, which only expands into any considerable width between France and Africa, Spain and Italy. Situated on this great basin, nearer than any other power to the west, where as yet no threatening empire had appeared, she had only to take advantage of the magnificent opening which lay before her; she was moreover distinguished from Tyre by a warlike activity which freed her from fear of foreign interference. In Sicily the Carthaginians encountered formidable adversaries in the Greeks. From the year 480 B.C. they undertook a series of wars in which reverses and successes were equally mingled, but which were rendered very bloody by the cruelty of the Carthaginians; for the Phœnicians, when they settled on African soil, seem to have acquired something of the ferocity of the barbarous people who surrounded them. Sicily also became the battle-field for the Carthaginians and the Romans; and the result of the first Punic war was the presage of the conclusion of the second.

*Carthaginian Commerce and Navigation.*—Sicily, by its vicinity and its fertility, possessed every attraction to explain the Carthaginian eagerness to obtain it, and Sicily also found in Carthage the nearest market for its productions of oil and wine. Commerce with Italy was equally active, for at a very remote date Carthage exported black slaves, brought from the interior of Africa and much valued in Italy. The Carthaginians also brought precious stones, gold, and the products of their own industrial work to the Italian ports. The Carthaginians occupied the island of Malta at an early date, and it became celebrated for the beautiful cloths they manufactured there. From Corsica, wax and honey were exported as well as slaves. The Carthaginians succeeded to the Phœnician colonies in Spain and to the trade in minerals. For a long time they were content with the advantage of having an immense market where they could supply a number of barbarous tribes, who could obtain only through them the products and luxuries of civilization. It was not until later, during the war

with Rome, that the desire to compensate themselves for the loss of Sicily led them to undertake the conquest of Spain.



Votive Stela from Carthage.

Nearer to the ocean than the Tyrians, the Carthaginians reso-

lutely ventured beyond the columns of Hercules. They opened commercial relations with the southern parts of Great Britain. In the south they established settlements on the coast of the region now known as Morocco. According to the *Periplus of Hanno*, a voyage described in an inscription which ornamented the chief temple in Carthage, and of which we possess a translation in Greek, the Carthaginians advanced as far as "a burning land, inaccessible through its great heat." By this it is supposed that they probably passed Senegal, and the revolting appearance and ferocity of the savages whom they encountered in these countries, which were bounded by high mountains, lead us to believe that they reached the Gulf of Guinea.

We have little information respecting the trade which the Carthaginians carried on by land, for as far as possible they kept their routes secret, and we cannot say whether they penetrated into Libya or the Soudan. Their chief exportation from the interior consisted of the black African slaves, and it is therefore probable that they sought for them as far as Nubia.

*Causes of the Fall of Carthage.*—The Carthaginians carried on the Phœnician traditions, and set the example of a great oligarchy or aristocratic republic, conquering and holding a vast colonial empire. The *suffetes*, the two chief magistrates of the republic, were perhaps nominated for life, but in any case were subordinate to the Senate, which seems to have concentrated the power in its own hands. Although there were popular assemblies, theirs was an aristocratic government, for the governing body, the Senate, recruited itself from the wealthy families, and it even succeeded in centralizing the authority in a council or tribunal of one hundred members—the *Gerusia*—whose chief duty was to maintain the republican form of government, and to control the *suffetes* and the generals.

The Carthaginian Senate, however, lacked the wisdom and ability which afterwards characterized the Roman Senate and secured its supremacy. Composed of an aristocracy of merchants, it thought only of the commercial profits to be derived from its conquests, and did not realise that merciful conduct towards the subjugated



populations would secure more enduring advantages. The Carthaginians as rulers were harsh, exacting, and greedy ; they even distrusted the towns that surrounded Carthage, and would not allow any cities to be fortified except the metropolis. This excellent precaution against rebellion delivered over the Carthaginian territory an easy prey to the Romans, who seized it almost without a blow. Oppressed by the exactions of Carthage, her colonies eagerly welcomed a change of masters, and an empire which appeared so formidable rapidly collapsed ; because all its organization had been for immediate gain, and therefore was without vitality or power of endurance. The Carthaginians did not usually fight themselves ; they hired mercenaries from barbarous nations, and these had not the sentiment of patriotism which constitutes the strength of armies. But though thus defective in civil and military organization, Carthage possessed devoted and skilful generals, like Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, while in the war against Rome she had the greatest captain of antiquity, Hannibal, who, although neither appreciated nor supported, for seven years jeopardized the fortunes of Rome.

Carthage fell chiefly owing to the internal dissensions. The factions of the Hannos and Barcas and the incessant struggle between the merchants and the patriots destroyed the unity of action, and thus paralysed the forces of the republic at the time when Hannibal had almost secured the victory.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE CIVILIZATION OF THE ARYANS, HINDOOS, AND PERSIANS.

**SUMMARY:** The Aryans—Sanskrit—Sacred Poems of India—Religion of the Brahmans—Buddha and Buddhism—The Plateau of Iran, Medes and Persians—The Medes—The Persians: their Empire—Administrative Organization—Roads and Posts—Court and Splendour of the Persian Kings—The Persian Religion: Zoroaster—The Zend-avesta—Persian Civilization—The Ancient Civilization of the Oriental Nations.

*The Aryans: Sanskrit.* — However important for the world have been the achievements of the Semitic race, it is the Aryan that has ruled, and still rules over it. The generic name of Aryan is used by modern science to designate the principal nations who descended from the race of Japhet, and who occupied Asia and Europe.

The primitive cradle of the Aryan race seems \* to have been the great tableland of Iran, the region bounded to the south by Gedrosia (Beloochistan), to the north by the Indian Caucasus, to the west by the mountains of Kurdistan and Lurestan, and to the east by those of Sulieman. The Aryans were a pastoral people, monogamous, with a simple and pure family life. On the foundation of the family was based the wider union of the tribe or clan. Their religion was probably monotheistic, but early developed into a pantheistic polytheism, a worship of the most impressive phenomena of nature—the sun, the stars, &c.

The Turyas or Turanians—the Scythians of the classical writers—whose present representatives are the Tartars and the Finnish

\* This theory of the Asiatic origin of the Aryans was opposed as early as 1862 by Dr. R. G. Latham, whose theory that the original home of the Aryans was to be found in Europe, not in Asia, has of late received some support and attracted much attention.

tribes—were the chief rivals of the Aryans in the western part of the tableland of Iran. Their material civilization was high, but their moral and religious state very inferior.

It is through the affinity existing between their languages that the students of comparative philology have been led to the theory of the origin of the Indo-Germanic or Indo-European peoples, so called from the range they occupy in Asia and Europe. The Sanskrit, the sacred language of India, is the most ancient language of the series. This language is rich in inflexions, sonorous and poetic; in travelling from the East to the West we can trace its various modifications, which have given birth to the Iranic (Persian and Armenian) class and the European languages, including the Celtic, Hellenic, Italic, Teutonic classes. If the sister tongues, Latin and Greek, have borrowed their alphabet from the people who spoke the so-called Semitic language, they yet differ essentially from the latter, and are remarkable for their flexibility, for the variety of their declensions and conjugations, and for a kind of fecundity, which has enabled them to develop and to enrich, nay, almost to embarrass, themselves with a variety of dialects.

In spite of differences, the Indo-European languages, which are spoken from the shores of the Ganges to the banks of the Thames and of the Tagus, present the same construction, the same grammatical inflexions as Sanskrit, and a certain number of its root-words; and this is generally received as a satisfactory proof, without naming others, of the relationship between the Indo-European nations. These root-words, which are common to the Eastern and Western branches of the Aryan race, give us some idea of their social development and of their religion.

*The Sacred Poems of India.*—Nearly three thousand years before the Christian era, the eastern branch of the Aryans, who had held fast a naturalistic development of the old Aryan religion, sang hymns on the banks of the Indus, in that region of Northern India to which they had moved from the cradle-lands of their race. Collectively these hymns are known by the name of the Vedas. They reveal a pantheistic and poetic religion, in which the worship of the genii or spirits inhabiting the material world, the spirits of

the sun, sky, rain, winds, trees, hills, rivers, &c., is based probably on a primeval monotheism. Yet already the difference between the Aryans of India and the Aryans of Iran is traceable. The latter enter into religious life by active effort; the former sink into annihilation through unbridled speculation.

Driven by the younger branch from their cradle-lands in the great tableland of Iran, the Indian branch of the Aryan race crossed the Hindoo Koosh, and reached the valley of the Indus. From the Indus the Aryan tribes advanced up the rich valley of the Ganges, and the wars with the Cushite aborigines that ensued during the period that followed, inspired the great Epic of India, the Maha-Bharata, written in the Sanskrit language, which has been assigned, with some probability, to about 1400 B.C. The Aryans afterwards spread over other parts of the peninsula of Hindustan, and the traditions of these expeditions are preserved in another Sanskrit epic, the Ramayana, about B.C. 1000. Aryan society in India had not only its literature but also its legislative code, the Sacred Code of Manu, reputed son of Brahma, the Supreme Spirit, and a wholly mythical figure. This code was probably edited before the present text of the great epic poems was definitely settled, and is with some probability assigned to 600 B.C. Although the Code of Manu was imperfect, although it authorised polygamy and divided the people into castes (the development of the old Iranian classes of priests and warriors, and countrymen), it is a proof that there was, even at that early date, an effort towards an organized society.

*The Religion of the Brahmins.*—It must, however, be borne in mind that the laws of Manu were based on a Brahmanical development of the religious ideas of the Vedas. Brahma, the eternal One, creator of the visible world, was in the Vedas associated with Indra, king of the firmament, Surya the Sun-god, &c. The Brahman religion afterwards adopted Vishnu, the preserver; and Siva the destroyer and regenerator, as representations of the supreme Being equally with Brahma, the creator.

In the modern religion of India the religious notions of the Turanians of India became blended with the Aryan personification of the powers of nature, and may be recognised in the worship

of cruel deities, such as the goddess Kali, the wife of Siva, and Siva himself, the god of death. The laws of Manu enjoined the observance of caste distinctions. There were four great castes: the Brahmins or priests, the Kshatriyas or soldiers, the Vaisyas or merchants, the Sûdras or cultivators. The first three castes were Aryan, and were called "Twice-born," having been invested with a mysterious thread on their entry into civil life. The fourth caste, the Sûdras, were altogether inferior and distinct from the "wearers of the thread," the three first castes. They were the aboriginal inhabitants of India, of Turanian, or at any rate of non-Aryan origin. Below the four castes there also existed a large number of pariahs or outcasts, inferior to the Sûdras, and always looked down upon as the most abject of mankind. The Brahmins, who developed this social organization from the religion of which they were the ministers, still retain all the privileges of the highest caste. The Brahman doctrine was centred in the continued transmigration of souls. According to their creed all animal life forms a scale, up or down which men pass continually through the gates of death and birth, each time undergoing a change of condition. A perpetually renewed existence rewards or punishes them, and according to their virtues or their vices, they rise to the highest order of intellectual humanity or sink back into the unclean animals. The felicities of heaven, where Indra presides, or the penalties of hell, are doubtless a recompense or a punishment, but neither reward nor chastisement are eternal. They are but the precursors of a better or worse existence on earth. After a man has traversed the series of lives and has deserved his birth into the highest caste, his soul attains deliverance by absorption into the Supreme Soul. "The man who perceives in his own soul the Supreme Soul present in all creatures, and regards them all with equal benevolence, will be absorbed at last into the highest essence, even that of the Almighty himself" (Manu, xii. 126).

The sciences of astronomy and medicine, as well as philosophy, seem to have been far advanced amongst the Brahmins, and there are even striking analogies between the old philosophical doctrines of India and those of some of the Greek sages; a resemblance which

reminds us that the Hellenic race is also of Aryan origin. The Brahmanical Code of Manu imposed, in addition to the bondage of caste, innumerable regulations respecting the purity of the person and the food, and exacted severe expiations of the least infringement of its rules. A revolt against this crushing system was inevitable, and the religious revolution under Buddha was the form it took.

*Buddha and Buddhism.*—Born about 500 years before the Christian era, Sákya Muni, better known as the Buddha (the sage), was son of a Raja of Kapila, a kingdom situated beneath the mountains of Nepaul. He was called Sákya from his family and Gautama from his clan. Convinced by observation and reflection of the evil of life, Sákya Muni gave up his luxurious palace, his loving wife and child, and while yet in his youth renounced the world, adopted the life of a religious mendicant, and afterwards retired into the jungle, where he lived in solitude, absorbed in meditation. There after some years passed in austere meditation, he succeeded, under the shade of a fig tree, afterwards venerated by the name of "tree of intelligence," in formulating the principles of his system. "The doctrine of Sákya Muni, in its primitive form, when he first taught it, consisted entirely in an elevated ideal of moral good and in the practice of that good. Both are inherent in the human conscience, and both had been obscured and perverted by Brahmanism; the great spirit of Sákya Muni rediscovered and re-established them. According to this doctrine, all men are equal in principle, all are called, according to their moral power, to aspire to the same salvation and to raise themselves by the same methods to the state which will free them from pain, and effectually deliver them out of the fatal and incessant circle of transmigrations. The duty, therefore, devolves upon them of treating all men with mutual benevolence as brothers, they must guard against any reprehensible actions, must practise virtue and strive to overcome their natural inclinations, and in short they must use every effort to attain the state of moral and intellectual perfection which is implied in the word *bodhi* (supreme intelligence)."

"Those whose lives are entirely conformed to these doctrines and

who obey the precepts of the eternal laws, become *Buddha* and after death attain *Nirvana* (extinction, nothingness)." \*

The morality of Buddhism has been justly celebrated. The reformer inculcated goodness, mercy, and charity upon his followers in their relations with their fellow-men ; and in addition to those fundamental laws, without which no society can exist, he gave them other rules which urge them to humility, patience, courage, and above all almsgiving.

But although the doctrines of Buddha were so remarkable both as a philosophical system and as a moral code, they were soon corrupted by the reformer's disciples. Buddha had ignored the deity, and therefore denied the need of prayers and sacrifices, but his followers combined the Brahman mythology with the Buddhist doctrines. The doctrine of transmigration was revived and developed ; Buddha himself became the hero of numerous legends, each more wonderful than the others, concerning the various phases of existence through which he must have passed before he could have attained the perfect nature of the Buddha. Between the eighth and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, Buddhism was driven northward into Thibet by the Brahmanical revival, and Lhasa became the Rome of Thibetan and Chinese Buddhism. The people of Burmah, too, were converts to Buddhism from the old Vedic polytheism, and everywhere moral improvement testified to the superiority of the reformer's doctrine.†

*The Plateau of Iran, Medes and Persians.*—The branch of the Aryan family which descended from the centre of Asia towards the West, was stronger in morals and religion than the Indian branch, being compelled to maintain itself against hostile races, while the Aryans in the plains of the Indus had almost uninterrupted peace.

The Western Aryans, or Iranians, were at first settled on the plateau or tableland of Iran, the boundaries of which have been already described.

From this plateau the Iranian branch of the Aryan family

\* Fr. Lenormant, " Manuel de l'Histoire Ancienne."

† Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, " Le Bouddha et sa religion."

spread over Media, Persia, and Armenia, and firmly established themselves in the mountains that border the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates to the east. In Media the conflict between the Aryan invaders and the Turcoman inhabitants was long doubtful, and the Aryan religion took a Turanian character from the element-worship of the conquered race.

The religion of the Aryan settlers was the simple creed of the earlier portion of the Zend-Avesta, but the ancient Magianism of the aborigines of Media corrupted the faith of their conquerors, and the worship of the elements, particularly of fire, together with the establishment of a hierarchy—the Magi, a sacred caste to perform the rites of the fire worship—were added to the old Aryan dualism.

*The Medes.*—Of all the ancient oriental monarchies the Median was the shortest lived. About the middle of the seventh century B.C., Cyaxares, at the head of a fresh Aryan emigration from the East, consolidated the scattered tribes of Media, completely subdued the Scythian tribes of the mountains, and organized the first regular army; and thus prepared, commenced the conquest of Assyria, in which, aided probably by the Babylonians under Nabopolassar, he succeeded in taking Nineveh, about the year 625 B.C. The Median empire was overthrown about 558 B.C. by another Iranian people, the Persians, led by Cyrus, after a short but severe struggle. The fact that the two peoples were of the same race, language, and manners and mode of life, and almost the same religion, accounts for the favourable and friendly treatment of the Medes by the Persians. The two peoples soon formed a single nation, in which the Medes had their full share of importance and honour.

*The Persians : their Empire.*—The Persians, like the Medes, came from the Eastern cradlelands of the Aryan race, and keeping to the south of Media, settled in the region between Media and the Persian Gulf. By the end of the eighth century they had occupied the country henceforth known as Persia. About 630 B.C. they became tributary to the Medes, and their independence was not regained till Cyrus, son of Cambyses II., of the dynasty of Achæmenidæ, revolted against the Medes about 558 B.C., and con-



quered Media. This success was followed by a series of victories, and Babylon was taken after a vigorous defence, about 538 B.C. Cyrus founded a vast empire, which included the ancient kingdoms and empires of Asia, and which extended over the whole tableland of Iran, over the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, over Palestine, Phœnicia, and Asia Minor, where he absorbed the kingdom of Lydia and the Grecian colonies. Cyrus adopted a more humane and intelligent policy towards the vanquished than had been adopted by Assyrian conquerors. Lydia and the other states of Asia Minor, which had attained a state of civilization that was intermediate between that of the Assyrians and that of the Greeks, were neither devastated nor depopulated. At Babylon the conqueror found an exiled race, haters of idols like the Persians, and lovers of a moral and spiritual religion, and the restoration of the Jews to their native land was the practical expression of the sympathy of the king. Cambyzes, son of and successor to Cyrus, revived, in the conquest of Egypt (525 B.C.), the most cruel traditions of Eastern warfare. Gomates, a Magian priest, giving himself out to be Smerdis, the brother of Cambyzes, succeeded in seizing the throne, and endeavoured to suppress the old Ormuzdian religion in favour of Magianism, but after a reign of seven months was defeated and slain by Darius, son of Hystaspes (521—485 B.C.), who reduced the kingdom of Persia to order, and adding Thrace to it, extended his power over Asia, part of Africa, and part of Europe. The bas-relief of Behistun, deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson, confirms, whilst it corrects, the Greek accounts of the great king, as they termed Darius, and of his achievements.

*Administrative Organization.*—Darius not only added to the extent, he also accomplished the re-organization of the Persian empire. He divided it into twenty-three satrapies, which he confided to satraps, who represented the king as viceroys; but at the side of the satraps, who were chosen from amongst the chief nobility, and were usually allied to the royal family, were placed "royal secretaries," who watched, and, if necessary, denounced an unfaithful satrap. As an additional precaution the troops were often placed under the orders of distinct generals, when

the satraps could only exercise the civil power. The satrap, however, usually acquired the supreme power, and in the luxury of his court rivalled the court of the sovereign.

This machinery of government was also used in the assessment and collection of taxes. The satraps received all the tribute in kind and in money, and then forwarded it to the king. The taxes were assessed according to the fertility and the population of the various regions, but to these charges must be added those imposed by the satraps, who were all more or less avaricious, and who maintained a more or less sumptuous court.

*Roads and Posts.*—In order to facilitate the rapid transmission of his orders, the great king established what we now call a postal service. Roads traversed all the provinces of the empire; the finest and safest led from Sardis in Lydia, to Susa, the royal town. Herodotus describes the whole length of it, enumerating the frequent stages. On the frontiers of the provinces the road was protected by gates and forts. Bridges were not built, so it was necessary to cross the rivers in boats. From Sardis to Susa there were in all one hundred and eleven stages, and the journey took ninety days. This description gives us some idea of the size of the empire, and of the difficulties which the central administration had to cope with.

*Court and Splendour of the Persian Kings.*—The sovereign was always surrounded by a crowd of officers and courtiers, who served him with every mark of respect and reverence. In the palace these officers performed domestic functions which became honourable as soon as they were undertaken in the king's service: and the chief personages prided themselves on the title of relations, friends, confidential servants to the king. On the monuments of Persepolis we find traces of these Persian formulas, which are probably older than the monuments themselves, and which have survived them. In our own time, the title of relations is conferred by the Shah upon the tribes of Western Persia which have the privilege of furnishing his body-guard.

The Persian sovereigns were fond of travelling—a survival, perhaps, of the old nomad instinct—and changed their dwelling

according to the season. The descendants of Cyrus spent the autumn and winter at Babylon, the summer at Ecbatana, the spring at Susa. The great size of their empire enabled them to enjoy the advantage of this agreeable variety of climate.

*The Persian Religion: Zoroaster.*—If the Persian government was only a despotism of the Assyrian and Egyptian form, their religion was utterly unlike, and far superior to that of Memphis and Babylon. The holy Zoroaster (Zarathrustra) filled the same place amongst them that Moses held amongst the Hebrews, and gave them the sacred books—the Zend-Avesta.

All that we know of Zoroaster is purely legendary, but ancient writers combine in giving him a very early date.

*The Zend-Avesta.*—The sacred books, called the Zend-Avesta, or Avesta-u-Zend (text and comment), of which, however, we possess only a small part, consisted of twenty-one books, and contained all Zoroaster's religious and moral teaching, a restoration of the old Aryan faith before its corruption.

The ancient sacred speech is preserved in these books, and its affinity to Sanskrit sustains its claim to be one of the oldest forms of the Aryan language. The Vendidad, the book of doctrine and instruction, was written in the form of a dialogue; the disciple questions, the master replies. Zoroaster consults Ormazd; "O Ormazd, absorbed in excellence, equitable judge of the world, which exists through thy power, thou art purity itself, who is the man that first consulted thee, O Ormazd, as I am doing, to whom thou hast clearly shown the law of Zoroaster?" The questions addressed by Zoroaster to Ormazd include all the rules, laws, and customs, which ought to guide men under the new law; the faults, vices, and crimes are defined, the punishments threatened for each are minutely described and detailed. Zoroaster always exacts a full explanation, through his doubts and his feigned ignorance, and he receives from Ormazd answers which are articles of faith and law.

The Zend-Avesta claims to reveal Mazdeism (or universal knowledge), a revelation made by "the most excellent Word" to Zoroaster for the benefit of mankind. Its doctrines can be briefly

stated. Ormazd (Ahuramazda) is the Supreme God ; Light is his special quality, and the sun and fire his symbols. He is the white or holy spirit. To Ahuramazda is eternally opposed Ahriman (Angra mainzu, "The dark spirit"), the author of all physical and moral evil, and of death itself. One commands an army of good angels, whom he has created, and of whom Vohu Manô, "the good mind," comes first ; the other an army of evil-angels, of whom Akâ Manô, "the bad mind," has the foremost place. Ahuramazda and his enemy Ahriman rule the whole natural world, from the elements which form it to the smallest creature upon it, and between the good and evil, the pure and the impure, a warfare is perpetually waged. The Sun (Mithra), fire, air, and water are the agents of the Good Spirit. Night, cold, and the desert whirlwinds are the agents of the Evil One. Good and bad men on earth, and after them, clean animals, the horse, ox, and dog on the one side ; unclean animals, such as the wolf, serpent, &c., on the other, are engulfed in the vortex of this great struggle between good and evil, night and darkness, carried on under the leadership of the good and evil spirits. The whole character of the system is spiritual, not physical, and in the corruption of the work of Ahuramazda by the tempter Ahriman, as well as in the history of the creation of the world, and of the fall of man, there is a closer resemblance to the narrative in the first book of the Pentateuch.

Man, assailed by the evil and defended by the good spirits, should live, Zoroaster teaches, according to the law of righteousness. Zoroaster extols work, he teaches that, "the man who has built himself a house in which fire, cattle, his wife, children and flocks can be maintained is a holy man ; he who has planted corn in the earth, who has cultivated the fruits of the fields has promoted purity, has aided the law of Ahuramazda as much as if he offered a hundred sacrifices." The morality taught in the Zend-Avesta is high. It was the duty of all men to work with Ahuramazda to overcome evil, spiritual and material. Truth was highly esteemed and lying condemned. Purity, piety, and industry were enjoined. Evil was traced to the heart, and virtue had to include

the thought as well as the deed. The doctrine of rewards and punishments after death is clearly defined. The spirits of the wicked are to be engulfed in the darkness of the kingdom of Angra mainzu; the spirits of the good are to become helpers of the powers of light against the powers of darkness.

There were no images in the temples of the Persians, nor were there any priests. Sacrifices seem to have been unknown, and prayers and praise constituted the services in the temples.

The religion of Zoroaster soon became degraded, especially amongst the Medes. It was chiefly corrupted by Magianism, the religion of the Turanian peoples of West Asia. This religion consisted of the worship of the elements, and was maintained by a venerable priesthood, on whose altars the fire never died, and who claimed more than natural powers.

*Persian Civilization.*—The kingdom of Persia was ruled by an absolute king; who nominated to the provinces satraps, often almost as powerful as himself, and who preserved at his court a minute etiquette and a pompous ceremonial. Administrative organization was good, and a considerable degree of order reigned in the empire. The prayers of the Persians are thoroughly spiritual, and beautiful and elevated in feeling; untruthfulness was abhorred amongst them; the education of the young was carefully superintended; at least that of the sons of the king and the nobles.

*The Civilization of the Oriental Nations.*—The Oriental nations formed the first organized societies: they were naturally far from true civilization. It would be unjust to expect from the early States what belongs to States in the maturity of mankind. It is much for them to have merited the high praise they receive, some for the progress which they made in material civilization, others for their moral civilization.

It is indeed wonderful that the society which flourished in Egypt was sufficiently organized to leave the monuments that still compel our admiration. Babylon and Nineveh contained within their walls a numerous, elegant, and refined population. Jerusalem was the centre of a spiritual religion and an ideal of social

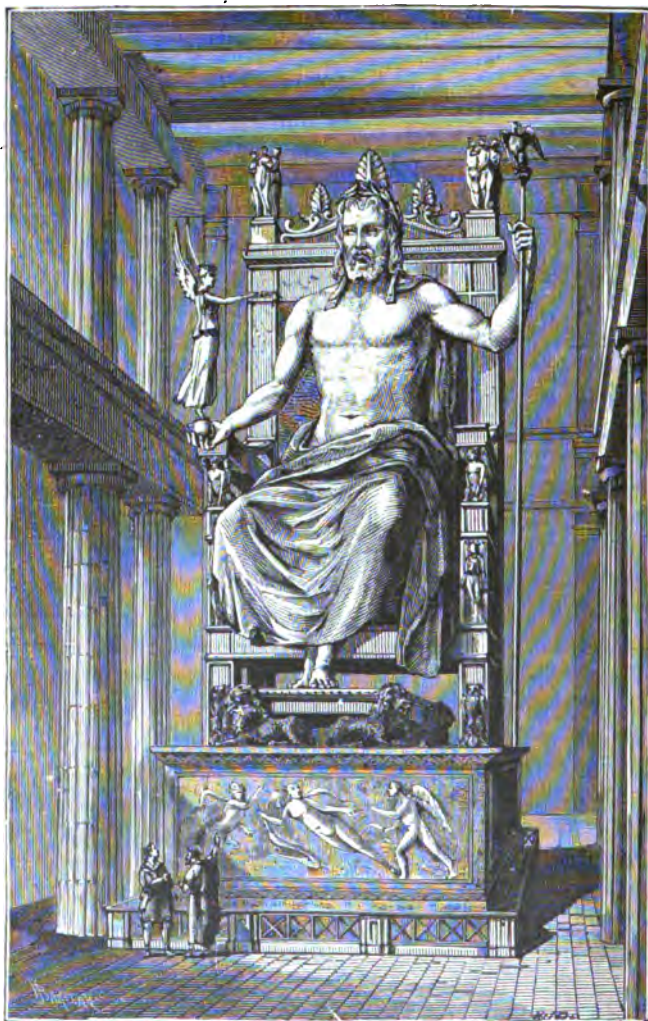
life which have survived the passage of the centuries. The Phœnicians by their commercial activity and industry circulated ideas of art and the elements of writing over all the coasts of the Mediterranean.

The art of Egypt and Assyria inspired the Greeks, who brought art to perfection. Phœnicia owes a higher glory to its alphabet, which has been adopted by all the European nations, than to its commerce. Judea has bequeathed to mankind a religion and system of ethics which, transformed and developed, is professed by nearly the whole modern civilized world.

A close bond unites these early civilizations to those that follow. The material civilization of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, and Persians helped to develop the higher and more human civilization of the Greeks. The philosophy of Greece was the preparation for the Christian religion in Europe, as the Hebrew religion had been among the Jews. The arts, industries, and science of Europe owe their existence, in some measure, to Eastern countries; and modern society would not be able to understand itself without the knowledge of these early societies from which it is derived, as a river is formed by many streams and swollen by many torrents, which lose and purify themselves in its waters.

**SYNOPTIC TABLE OF THE FIRST EMPIRES.**

| DATEs.   | EGYPT.   |                                      |  |   |   | INDIA                                       |
|--|--|--------------------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| 40th to 20th Century before the Christian era. | Memphis. The Pyramids.   |                                      |  |   |   | The religion of Brahma.                     |
| 20th Century.                                  |  | ASSYRIA.<br>Babylon and Nineveh.     | JEWs.<br>Abraham. The Patriarchs.              |   |   | THE VEDAS.<br>The epic and sacred poems.    |
| 18th and 17th Centuries.                       | New Theban Empire. The monuments of Thebes.  | Ninevite Empire.                     | Moses. The laws and the religion of the Jews.  | PHENICIANS.<br>Phoenician Colonies.               | IRANIANS.<br>Zoroaster, religious lawgiver. | Great antiquity of the Hindoo Civilization. |
| 16th Century.                                  |  | Monuments of Nineveh and of Babylon. | Conquest of Palestine. The Judges.             | Commerce Industry.                                |   |   |
| 11th Century.                                  |  |                                      | The Kings. Temple of Jerusalem.                |   |   |   |
| 10th Century.                                  |  |                                      | The schism, 976 B.C. The Prophets.             |   |   |   |
| 8th Century.                                   |  | The Sargonides.                      | Destruction of the Kingdom of Israel, 721 B.C. |   | Kingdom of the Medes.                       | The laws of Manu.                           |
| 7th Century.                                   | Reliable period of Egyptian History, 556.  | Destruction of Nineveh, 625.         |  |   | First Military organization. Cyaxares.      | The reform of Buddha.                       |
| 6th Century.                                   |  | Babylonian Empire.                   | Destruction of the Kingdom of Judah, 587 B.C.  | Struggle of the Phœnicians against the Assyrians. | Persian Kingdom                             |   |
| 560—529.                                       | Empire of Cyrus. Asia as far as the boundaries of India.   |                                      |  |   | Cyrus.                                      |   |
| 529—485.                                       | Empire of Cambyes and of Darius (with the addition of Egypt and Thrace). Union of the Eastern world. |                                      |  |   |   |   |



**Jupiter Olympus, by Phidias.**



## BOOK II.

### GREEK CIVILIZATION.

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#### CHAPTER VII.

##### THE GREEK RELIGION.

**SUMMARY:** The Country; Grecian History explained by Geography—The Origin of the Hellenic Family—The Greek Religion—Homer's Account of the Gods—Fate—Nemesis—The Heroes—The Orphic Mysteries—Religious Morality of the Greeks—The Worship—Divination—The Oracles: the Delphic Pythia—The Amphictyonic Council—The Public Games.

**NOTE:** The Games.

*The Country; Grecian History explained by its Geography.*—The first attempts at organized society were made in the East, but they had neither power of growth nor permanence, and the Eastern nations have since sunk into a state of incurable apathy. Broadly speaking, we may say, Eastern civilization differed from Western, as despotic differs from liberal government, as material progress differs from mental and moral progress in a nation or an individual. It was in Europe that civilizations really worthy of the name were gradually developed. Greece was the first country that attained unquestionable superiority and earned the honour of being regarded as the teacher of humanity. At first concentrated within narrow limits, the light that she kindled was gradually diffused, and finally illumined ancient civilization, and lighted the flame that has spread throughout the modern world.

Greece is a small country, its greatest length 250 miles, its greatest breadth 180. It is a peninsula attached to the larger

Balkan peninsula, and the smaller peninsula is again divided so as to form a third, which has some resemblance to an opened hand, or still more to the leaf of a plane-tree or a vine. This was called Peloponnesus, or the Island of Pelops, in ancient times; and in modern times the Morea, from the Slav. *morje*=mare, the waterland. The coasts of Greece are deeply indented by the sea, and though its surface is less than that of Portugal, Greece presents a coast line equal in length to that of Spain and Portugal together. The seas that wash this peninsula are thickly studded with islands, and these islands, like the piles of a huge bridge, unite Greece to the coasts of Asia Minor on the east, and of Italy on the west. The Greeks were thus invited by nature herself to become a maritime people. They were also mountaineers. Greece is formed by the extreme prolongation of the eastern Alps, and the extension of their last branches into the Peloponnesus. It consists of a series of small valleys, enclosed by mountains only, and open to the sea. These walled-in valleys or plains are well suited for the habitations of distinct populations, jealous of their autonomy, but when of one race and religion, zealous for the common independence. Everything, even to the sharp mountain tops that pierce the intense blue of the sky, has contributed to endow Greek intelligence with that clearness and precision, that appreciation of line and harmony, which are the chief characteristics of Greek genius.

*The Origin of the Hellenic Family.*—The Greeks belong to the great Aryan family. Like the Pelasgians, who preceded them in Greece, they came from Asia. According to their legends, which, however, are questioned by modern criticism, they were descended from a single ancestor, by whose name they called themselves, Hellen, son of Deucalion and Pyrrha. Hellen had three sons, Æolus, father of the Æolians, Dorus, father of the Dorians, and Xuthus, father of Ion and of Achæus, from whom the Ionians and the Achæans derived their origin. The four great divisions of the Hellenic family were thus of common descent. They were subdivided into a number of independent communities, which never ceased to proudly acknowledge themselves as of the same blood and to form one nation, thanks to the powerful bond of a common

race, religion, and language, and the uniting force of the great festivals as well as the community of manners and character.

Traditions, which, however, deserve but little credit, assert that Greece received foreign colonies at an early date: from Egypt, those of Cecrops and Danaus; from Asia, those of Cadmus and Pelops. Greece, certainly, knew something about the Asiatic and Egyptian civilizations, and the Greeks, at a later date, were persuaded that they owed a great deal to the Egyptians. But though they may have derived something from foreign influence, it is evident that the Greeks completely transformed the ideas they received, and that their civilization was in the main of independent growth and marked originality.

*The Greek Religion.*—The naturism which characterized the religions of the Eastern world was transformed into humanism by the Greek mind. The Greek communities professed a religion of which the unity admitted diversity, which was national yet local, not crystallised in sacred books, not even upheld by any sacerdotal class; sufficiently definite to form a code of doctrine; sufficiently elastic to adapt itself to the thousand creations of the poets, who were its real authors, its brilliant theologians, its free priesthood, its enthusiastic singers. This religion has ceased to exist, but it has been so blended with Greek literature, which has been the inspiration of other literatures, that its mythology survives; a graceful fancy, which, while it no longer deceives any one, still pleases the world.

*Homer's Account of the Gods.*—In Homer's writings, though there is no definite religious purpose, the divinities are already grouped, and a hierarchy is formed. Not that Homer made any attempt to methodically unravel the traditions of his epoch. He is never diverted from the subject of his poems, the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," but he continually brings the gods on the scene of action, and never loses an opportunity of dwelling on the sacred legends, whenever they present themselves. Homer was essentially a religious poet, and we can gather the various elements of the Greek mythology of his time from the study of his works, of which, for convenience, we assume the old theory of authorship.

Zeus was master of nature and of the gods, he commanded both moral and physical forces, he was therefore the supreme power, and in him the divine unity, compromised by the immense varieties of secondary divinities, was to some extent re-established.



Aphrodite (the Cnidian Venus).

We cannot enumerate here the whole family of gods over whom Zeus reigned as the sovereign ruler of heaven. By his side were placed twelve principal deities. Hera, his wife; Hades, god of the lower regions; Poseidon, god of the sea;

Hermes, messenger of the gods, and protector of commerce; Apollo, the sun (in Homer, Helios, the sun-god, is quite distinct from Apollo, the god of prophecy and music, and at once the punisher and helper of mortals); Ares, the god of war; Hephaestus, the god of fire; Aphrodite, the goddess of love; Demeter, goddess of the earth; Artemis, the sister of Apollo and a female representative of the same idea; [as Apollo became identified with Helios, the sun, so Artemis with Selene, the moon]. Athena, the goddess of wisdom; Hestia, the goddess of home.



Apollo.

Olympus, a high mountain in Thessaly, was the home of these divinities.

Below these ranked the earthly divinities; Plutus, god of wealth; Dionysus, god of wine; Persephone, daughter of Demeter, wife of Hades, and Queen of the Shades.

The imagination of the poets peopled the seas. Poseidon drove his chariot over the ocean.

The Nereids, daughters of Nereus and Doris, were nymphs of

ocean, as the Naiads were of fresh water. Proteus tended the seals, the herds of Poseidon. Triton, half man, half fish, sounded his "wreathed horn" before Poseidon. The Sirens, who dwelt on an island, attracted mariners by their songs, only to draw them towards hidden rocks, where their vessels foundered. Æolus had dominion over the winds. Zephyrus was the west wind personified. The Harpies were the storm-winds personified. The interior of the earth was inhabited by Hades or Pluto, the king of the nether world, husband of Persephone, whom he had abducted, but who was allowed to pass eight months of the year with her mother Demeter. Minos, Aeacus, Rhadamanthus, were the three judges who decided the fate of the shades in the nether world; the Erinnys were the avenging goddesses; the Moirai or Fates were the three sisters who spun and cut short the threads of human lives; Charon was the ferryman who conveyed the shades of the dead across the rivers of the under world.



Hermes (Mercury), by Praxiteles.

Endowing the Immortals with the passions and even with the vices of men, the Greek poets represented them as interested in everything that passed upon the earth. The natural phenomena which to the Greeks were inexplicable were to them the visible embodiment of beings that lived, acted, and were susceptible of joy and suffering. The Dryads dwelt in the trees, and died with the death of their leafy abodes. The Naiads fled when the fountains where they lived were disturbed. Death was the law of destiny.

*Destiny.*—There have been many discussions about destiny. The Homeric poems fluctuate as regards destiny. Sometimes it is supreme over Zeus, sometimes virtually the will of Zeus, sometimes again it is alterable by Zeus.\*

\* Buchholz, "Die homerischen Realen," vol. iii.

*Nemesis.*—Nemesis is the personification of the levelling instinct in humanity; that force that cuts down too great prosperity, whether acquired innocently or by crime, and whether accompanied by haughty insolence or not.\*

*The Heroes.*—The Greeks universally believed that their land had been ruled by men of virtue and prowess, whose services appeared to them to merit immortality. These extraordinary men were the heroes or demi-gods. Of them three were specially conspicuous: Hercules, the ideal of liberating strength, who was represented as travelling in all directions delivering the country from monsters and tyrants; Theseus, the hero-king of Attica, conqueror of the Minotaur, and founder of the future power of Athens; Minos, King of Crete, founder of law and suppressor of the pirates of the sea. In addition to these three might be mentioned Jason and the Argonauts, the heroes of the voyage in quest of the Golden Fleece. Both Hercules and Theseus were originally of their number.

*The Mysteries.*—The chief of the Mysteries, or secret religious ceremonies, were those celebrated at Eleusis, in Attica, in honour of Demeter and Persephone. The greater Eleusinia, or Eleusinian mysteries, lasted nine days at Athens and Eleusis. On the first day those who had been initiated the year before at the lesser Eleusinia at Agræ on the Ilissus, assembled at Athens. After varied preparatory rites, the mystæ, those initiated only into the lesser mysteries, went with torches to the temple of Demeter at Eleusis, in representation probably of Demeter searching for Persephone. The sixth day was the most solemn. The statue of Iacchos, son of Demeter, was carried in procession to Eleusis, where the mystæ remained to be initiated into the supreme mysteries. An oath of secrecy was required, and then the mystagogus led them straight into the sanctuary, where the hidden things of the worship were open to their eyes.

*Religious Morality of the Greeks.*—Neither mysteries nor mythology were devoid of moral ideas amongst the Greeks. Without these ideas they could not long have satisfied the requirements

\* Preller, "Griechische Mythologie," i., 438.

of an intelligent race. Religion and religious morality penetrate and inspire the works of the Greek poets, and their tragic plays are didactically as well as artistically admirable.

In the sixth century moral and religious ideas found in some degree special interpreters and almost teachers in the gnomic or elegiac poets. In short expressive poems Tyrtaeus, Solon, Theognis, and a number of others, particularly devoted their talents to excite moral sentiments, to exalt constancy and courage, and to animate hope.

The lyric poets of the Greeks were often inspired by elevated moral ideas, as may be seen in the fragments of Simonides and the triumphal odes of Pindar, the latter of whom has left us the best specimens of this form of composition. And lastly, the Attic tragedy had for the founder of its renown the great religious mind of Aeschylus.

*The Worship.*—Worship amongst the Greeks was both private and public. It was offered in the house and in the temple. Each family, like each city, had its particular gods, though this did not prevent them from honouring the great national deities. In each house, an altar served for the domestic ritual, and there were always a few lighted ashes and coals on this altar; this was the holy flame, the sacred fire. "Render us," says a prayer that has been preserved amongst the Orphic hymns, "render us always flourishing, always happy, O household fire! thou who art eternal, beautiful, always young, thou who nourishest, thou who art rich, receive our offerings with good-will, and give us in return the happiness and health which are so sweet." It was the altar of the hearth that received the last farewells on leaving the house, and the first salutation on returning to it. On this fire were poured wine, oil, incense, and the fat of victims; offerings which the god was supposed to accept and in which he seemed to rejoice. The family meals were also religious acts, and the first portion of the food was reserved for the god.

Public worship was offered in the temples, which the Greeks built with great magnificence. In them statues of the gods were erected, in the creation of which rival artists displayed their genius,

and altars were raised for offerings and sacrifices. These temples were so deeply venerated that they afforded an inviolable sanctuary for criminals. The woods and springs were also consecrated to the divinities.

The Greek religion filled an important place in the popular imagination, and every Greek could be one of its priests. In most of the towns the religious functions were exercised by magistrates elected or chosen by lot, from whom only a dignified and honourable life was required. Some of the temples were served by priestesses, who consecrated their lives to the deity who was the object of their worship.

The ritual varied according to the cities and the divinities. Although there was a spiritual tendency at the foundation of the Greek religion, the people chiefly relied on the observance of public ceremonies as proofs of their devotion to it. It was a purely external worship. They thought the gods would be appeased, when all the rites handed down to them by their ancestors had been fulfilled to the letter, and when the victims had been sacrificed with the exact observance of specified regulations. The numerous festivals were celebrated with brilliant pomp. At Athens, the entire population of Attica took part in the chief solemnity of the great Panathenaea, the procession bearing the peplus in honour of Athena, the protecting goddess of the city. The Theori, religious ambassadors appointed from time to time for the purpose, were sent to the Olympian and the other chief games; to Delos to the quadriennial festival; and to consult the Oracle at Delphi.

*Divination.*—The mantic art, or art of divination, was very popular amongst the Greeks. The interpretation of dreams was probably introduced from Asia. The Greeks thought that the soul, freed during sleep from the empire of the senses and from external impressions, entered into communication with the gods. The Seers, who declared the future, were supposed to be inspired with knowledge by Apollo. This divining power was hereditary in many families, for instance in the Iamids and Eumolpids. When sacrifices were offered, the god's intentions were perceived



in the entrails of the victim. Divination was also practised by observing the flight of birds, the appearance of animals, and the phenomena of the heavens. Among unlucky phenomena were thunder and lightning, eclipses of sun or moon, earthquakes, &c.

*The Oracles : The Oracle of Delphi.*—The most important oracles were those of Apollo at Delphi and of Zeus at Dodona. The former was by far the more celebrated and influential. In the centre of the temple at Delphi, there was a deep cavity with a narrow aperture, from which, we are told, there escaped a vapour that was regarded as the spirit of inspiration. Over the aperture a high tripod was placed, and on this the Pythia, or priestess, was seated. Delirious intoxication, induced by the vapour, ensued, and the Pythia uttered incoherent words which the Prophetes noted down, and communicated as the revelation of Apollo to those who came to consult the god. The Pythia was always a native of Delphi, and after entering the service of the god was never allowed to marry. The extant answers of the Oracle are mostly in Ionic Greek, and take the form of hexameter verse.

No religious institution in the ancient world obtained an influence comparable with that exercised by the Oracle of Delphi. Venerated as the revelation of the divine wisdom, the Oracle was the moral centre of Greece; it reminded men of the existence of a superior power from whom nothing was hidden and who, sooner or later, punished transgression.

The Oracle also encouraged the preservation and promotion of religion and religious institutions, and thus used its vast influence in favour of religion.

The answer of the Pythia, moreover, decided the internal and external policy of the Greeks. Wars were neither undertaken nor suspended without an order or a counsel from the Pythia. Colonies were founded only after obtaining the consent and directions of the Oracle at Delphi. It was, of course, very difficult for the Oracle to satisfy all those who consulted it, and therefore ambiguous answers were very common.

The great and useful influence of the Delphic Oracle on the

early Greeks, especially the prudent worldly advice it gave, chiefly in the matter of colonization, can hardly be overestimated.\*

*The Amphictyonic Council.*—Religion served as a bond of union between the various Hellenic populations. Religious institutions alone were common to the different Greek communities. The Amphictyonic Council, so called from being composed of those who dwelt round a particular locality, was originally formed by the delegates of twelve tribes, each of which contained several independent cities or states. At an early date these tribes combined, and engaged by a solemn oath not to harm the territories included in the federation in any way; not to cut off the rivers or springs necessary for their supplies; to take arms against any town that failed in its part of the agreement, and to destroy it; to use all the means at the disposal of the Council to pursue and punish any assailants of the temple at Delphi or their accomplices.

The Amphictyonic Council held their ordinary meetings near Pylæ (Thermopylæ); their chief session at Delphi. From their connection with Delphi came their real power. They formed and gave force to what might almost be called the international law of the world of Hellas.

*The Public Games.*—The public games were part of the religion. Four great festivals in honour of the Olympian Zeus, the Pythian Apollo, the Nemean Zeus, and Poseidon, were celebrated at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and on the Isthmus of Corinth. These were really national solemnities. During their celebration hostilities were suspended, and parties actually at war found themselves thus brought closely together. All Hellas assembled every four years at Olympia (in Elis), where the most ancient and important of these festivals was held; and the victors in the trials of strength, the races, and the various games were hailed as heroes of whom the nation was proud; and who, consequently, received homage in their native city.†

\* Curtius, "Greek History," book ii., chap. iv.

† To receive the victor's crown before assembled Hellas was one of the chief ambitions which moved the individual in Greece.

**NOTE.**—The Olympic games, the most important, were held near an ancient temple of the Zeus, at Olympia, in Elis. The Eleans were the first to inscribe on their public register the name of their fellow citizen Coroebos, victor in the foot races (776 B.C.). This custom was afterwards universally adopted, and the victor's name served to designate each of the Olympiads, thus occupying an important place in their chronology. The Greeks counted their years by Olympiads (a period of fifty months). In the Olympic games, the prize of victory was an olive wreath. This simple crown excited no cupidity, whilst it was the object of the most intense ambition amongst the competitors, because of the glory attached by success both to the victor and to his native city.

The Pythian games were celebrated in the Cirræan plain, in honour of Apollo, every third Olympic year. In addition to the contests of the athletes, there were competitions in music and poetry.

The Nemean games were held every three years, in the valley of Nemea, in honour of the Nemean Zeus.

The Isthmian games derived their name from the Isthmus of Corinth, where they took place. They were held, in honour of Poseidon, every three years; and crowns of pine, or, later, of parsley, were the victor's reward.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### GREEK POLITICS.

**SUMMARY :** The Heroic Age—Historic Times—The Family—The Tribe—The City—The Government of the City—The People : Ionians and Dorians—The Dorian City : Sparta, Lycurgus ; Aristocratic Government—Social Inequalities—Military Discipline—Patriotism—Spartan Austerity : Education—Vices of the Spartan Constitution—The Ionian City of Athens—Property : Labour—Humanity—Social Spirit—Literary and Artistic Tastes : Education—Political Liberty ; the Laws of Solon ; Democratic Government—Progress of Democracy : the Reform of Cleisthenes—The Athenians and the Spartans—Ancient Liberty—Greek Colonies—Colonies of Asia Minor—Colonies of Thrace and Macedonia—Colonies of Italy and Sicily—African Colonies—The Colonies and the Metropolis—Commerce and Prosperity of the Greek Colonies—The Conflict with Asia : Opposition between the Greek World and the Oriental World—Character of the Medean War—Glory of Athens—Pericles.

*The Heroic Age.*—A period of some two hundred years, ending with the return of the Greeks from Troy (1184 B.C.), is known as the Heroic Age. The legends of this period are numerous, and centre round such figures as Hercules, Theseus, the Argonauts, the family of Laius, king of Thebes, and last and most important, round the expedition of the Greeks against Troy.

The Homeric poems, in which the expedition against Troy is celebrated, are a very full and very valuable storehouse of information concerning the manners and customs, the court and the political life of the Heroic Age.

At the time treated of by the Homeric poems, the Hellenes were already divided into tribes ; independent states ruled by kings, whose authority was derived from Zeus, and was hereditary and absolute. The king was supreme in war and peace ; he offered

up sacrifices and supplications to the gods for his people; he discharged, in short, the functions of commander-in-chief, high-priest, and chief-justice. The king was not only expected to be a champion in time of war and a judge in time of peace; he joined in agricultural occupations, and Ulysses boasts of being skilful as a ploughman and as a mower. After battle the warriors cooked their own food. The wives and daughters of the king performed the house work in company with the slaves, and altogether the life of the women and their relations with the men were more natural and unfettered than afterwards in the developed civilization of Greece. Andromache, Penelope, and Nausicaa are representatives of this free and noble womanhood.

The Greeks of the Heroic Age were daring seamen; and Homer's description of the armour, the interior of the houses, the weaving and embroidery of the women, and especially of such elaborate work in metal as the shield of Achilles, proves a comparatively high state of material civilization. This is sustained by the remains at Mycenæ and Tiryns, perhaps also by Dr. Schlegelmann's researches in the Troad. Be that as it may, Homer remains the great exponent of Greek heroic life, and from the Homeric poems we gain a most vivid, if perhaps slightly imaginative, picture of a remarkably interesting period of human history.

*Historic Times; the Family.*—At the earliest period of which we have any record in ancient Greece, we find the family grouped around the sacred hearth, the centre of domestic life; the sacred asylum, where suppliants implored protection from the master of the house.

The part of the house containing the apartments of the women was completely separated from that containing the apartments of the men, and the rooms in each division were built round a central court open to the sky. The roofs were flat, and the inmates used to walk about on them.

The paternal power was practically absolute. Marriage was a matter of public as well as private importance. It was regarded as obligatory. A father often chose for his son a wife he had not

seen, and forced him to marry. The betrothal, made by the guardian of the bride, legal or natural, was of great importance. Then it was that the dowry was settled. Offerings to the gods preceded the actual marriage. On the evening of the marriage-day the bride was brought to the bridegroom's house in solemn procession. The marriage-feast followed. There was no public rite. This was the Athenian custom; at Sparta the primitive marriage by capture maintained its place.

The burial of the dead was esteemed of the highest importance, and was performed with elaborate care and after a minute ceremonial.

The tombs of the dead were watched over and repaired by the survivors with the greatest care, and religious honours were paid at certain periods. To keep in good order the tombs of his ancestors was considered the duty of every honourable man.

*The Tribe.*—The family tie was so strong that the union of the different branches of it formed a numerous clan, a *genos*, as it was called in Greece. The members of the *genos* had their own religious rites and festivals, which were effectual in maintaining the union. Each *genos* traced back its descent to some hero or mythical ancestor, and was distinguished by a patronymic derived from his name. The members of the *genos* had a common burial-place, and in case of a member dying intestate his property belonged to the *genos*.

An association of several families constituted a *phratría*, a new religious fraternity with common sacrifices. Several *phratrias* formed the tribe, which had its own god, its religious chief, its assemblies, and its tribunal.

*The City.*—The union of several tribes formed the city, which was under the protection of a chosen divinity. To the city or State the first duty of the citizen belonged, and the social union was made as close as possible. Though exclusive as regards citizenship, the Greek city extended to friendly foreigners ties of public hospitality. The ties of hospitality were hereditary, and in each State persons were appointed to watch over the interests of those

who came from the friendly States, an office analogous to that of our modern consul.

The idea of a native land, it is plain, existed in the Greek mind at an early date, but it was only the idea of a native locality. The country, the fatherland, was at first the family enclosure with its hearth and its tomb, then the city with its public hearth, its temple, its heroes. The city territory formed the sacred land of the country, an expression which was more than an idle form amongst the Greeks, since the worship of several divinities was attached to this portion of the soil.

*The Government of the City.*—At first, then, the chief of the city was only a priest. "The charge of the public sacrifices of the city," said Aristotle,\* "belongs according to religious custom, not to special priests, but to those men who derive their dignity from the hearth, and who are here called kings, elsewhere prytanes, and again archons."

When the Greek cities would no longer submit to kings, their magistrates still retained their religious character. "The Athenian archons when they entered upon their duties ascended to the Acropolis wearing crowns of myrtles, and offered a sacrifice to the titular divinity of the town. It was also customary for them to wear crowns of foliage when they exercised their functions. And it is certain that the crown, which became and which still remains the emblem of power, was then only a religious symbol, an exterior sign, which accompanied prayer and sacrifice. Amongst the nine archons, the second archon, the one called the King, was the representative of the high priestly function of the old Kings, but each of his colleagues had some priestly duty to fulfil, some sacrifice to offer to the gods."†

The tribunal was placed near an altar. No battle and no victory took place without a sacrifice. "Thus in times of peace or of war religion intervened in every action. It was present everywhere, it surrounded the soul, the body, the private and public life of men. Meals, festivals, assemblies, tribunals, battles, all were under the

\* "Politics," book viii. (v).

† Fustel de Coulanges, "La Cité Antiqua."

empire of the religion of the city. It regulated all the actions of the citizens, disposed of every moment of their lives, settled all their habits. It governed the human being with such absolute authority that nothing remained outside its province." \*

*The People: Dorians and Ionians.* — We have now given the characteristics of primitive Greek society, characteristics which remained deeply imprinted upon it even after the cities had developed a life less directly under religious restraints. Peloponnesus, which in the Heroic Ages had been ruled by the Achæan monarchies of Mycenæ, Argos, and Sparta, was conquered by the Dorians at an early date, which has, without much foundation, been fixed at 1104 B.C.

When the Dorians, who came from the mountains between Phocis and Thessaly, had subdued the native populations they disputed amongst themselves, and the Dorians of Sparta endeavoured to conquer the rest. They became the most stubborn and valiant representatives of the Dorian race. They valued physical courage, strength, and energy above everything else, even while they were still remarkable for the intelligence that distinguished all the Hellenes.

Without exaggerating the influence of races, the great antagonism of the Dorians and Ionians is always prominent in Grecian history. The Ionians were the antithesis in many respects of their Dorian rivals. They were amiable and sympathetic, their intelligence was cultivated, their taste delicate. Active and laborious, their prosperity advanced in time of peace, whilst the Dorians only recognised the fruits of war and pillage. The Isthmus of Corinth remained the boundary between the two peoples, who did not, however, remain enclosed in their narrow domains. Colonising the islands and the coasts of Asia Minor, we find them always divided, nearly always inimical, and yet necessary to one another to restore in some measure the national equilibrium.

*The Dorian City: Sparta; Aristocratic Government.* — Argos, the first Doric city to gain the supremacy of the Peloponnesus, was forced to yield to the Spartans, who gradually conquered first Laconia, then (743—668 B.C.) Messene, and then (in 547 B.C.)

\* Fustel de Coulanges, book iii., chapter viii.



decisively defeated the Argives and broke their power. The great success of Sparta was mainly due to Lycurgus, a sage, who probably lived about 776 B.C., and not only brought order and peace to his distracted country, but, upheld by the authority of the Delphic oracle, established a legislative code, which carefully mapped out by rule the discipline and education of the citizens. According to an ancient custom the power remained divided between two hereditary kings, but these two kings were only the military and religious chiefs. The real authority belonged to the Gerusia, or senate of twenty-eight elders, and to the general assembly of Spartans. In course of time the kingly power declined, and the five ephors, or representatives of the popular assembly, became supreme.

Thus the government of Sparta was an oligarchy, or government of the few, and was rendered still more exclusive by the fact that its masters, the Spartans by birth, were the privileged portion of the community.

*Social Inequalities.*—Lycurgus maintained the distinctions of classes, or rather of peoples: the Spartans, descendants of the conquerors, the Perioeci, the former inhabitants, and the Helots, the rural serfs. According to Plutarch the land was distributed, the best and larger portion amongst the Spartans, nine thousand in number, the remainder amongst the Perioeci. The Helots were forced to cultivate the land belonging to the Spartans.

There were inequalities among the Spartans themselves. The Equals were the citizens who had maintained their full citizenship by submitting to the laws of Lycurgus, and paying their contribution to the public mess. The Inferiors were the poor, who had lost their full citizenship owing to inability to continue to contribute their portion to the public mess.

The Equals formed by themselves the aristocratic government of Sparta. The Perioeci were only farmers, and the Helots, ground down in an abject state of bondage, formed a class of unwilling serfs.

*Military Discipline: Patriotism.*—The Spartans proper occupied themselves with hunting and war. As soldiers they were subject to a strict and rigorous discipline. The law forbade them to

retreat although outnumbered. Victory or death was the order given. Sparta required no protecting ramparts beyond the courage of her soldiers. The Spartans thus present a wonderful example of patriotism and obedience to the law. After the death of Leonidas, the words, "Traveller, go and tell Sparta that we died here in obedience to her laws," were engraved on a rock at Thermopylæ. His glorious self-devotion produced a deep and far-reaching moral effect on the men of that and of all succeeding ages.

*Spartan Austerity: Education.*—In order to maintain their distinguishing characteristic of courage the education of the Spartans was from their childhood entrusted to the State. Lycurgus instituted or borrowed from the Cretans the custom of a public mess or dinner, to which every male citizen was obliged to contribute his share, and at which he was compelled to eat. The restraint as well as the course of physical training to which the Spartan men were subjected was exceedingly severe. Till he completed his thirtieth year the Spartan could not marry or take part in the public assembly; till he reached his sixtieth he was not released from public discipline and military service. Nor were the women treated as elsewhere in Greece; they were subjected to public training in gymnastic exercises, and the sexes met on terms of equality at that time unknown elsewhere.

*Vices of the Spartan Constitution.*—Although ancient authors have lavished praise upon the Spartan institutions, we must consider that as a whole they were opposed to the true destiny and to the natural sentiments of man. The violation of the rights of parents and the absence of liberty, which was unknown to the greater number of the inhabitants of Laconia, a love of conquest and pillage, a contempt for art and literature, were the logical outcome of the constitution of Sparta.

The spirit of liberty was certainly not the ruling spirit of the aristocratic and tyrannical republic of Sparta. Nor do we find any equality even amongst the upper classes, where the effect of the equal distribution of the land, if it ever really took place, soon passed away.

Aristotle has described some of the defects of the Lacedæmonian

constitution. He mentions the inequality of fortunes. "Some," he said, "possess immense wealth, whilst others have scarcely anything, so that the whole country is really divided amongst a few individuals." . . . He also criticises the public meals. "Lycurgus," said he, "wished to make the public meals a democratic institution, but they were far from popular. It was difficult for a very poor citizen to provide his share of the common expense, whilst an ancient custom, which was enforced as a law, excluded those who could not contribute from the rights of citizenship." Finally he blames the general intentions of the legislator: "His chief object," said he, "was to cultivate military virtues in the citizens; this is quite justifiable, if only victories were to be organized. What was the result? Lacedemonia upheld her position with honour in time of war, but lost it after the victory. All the institutions taught her to fight; but none of them prepared her to live in the enjoyment of peace."

Sparta sank beneath the egoistical policy which prevented her from repairing the gaps made by war in her population. The number of true Spartans was always diminishing. At the time when Aristotle wrote there only remained one thousand Spartans in place of eight thousand, their number in the time of Herodotus; in the time of Agis, 244 B.C., there were only seven hundred, according to Plutarch.

*The Ionian City of Athens.*—Unlike the Spartans, the Ionians allowed themselves to develop naturally, happy in seeking perfection by education, instead of trying to force it by legislation. The child was not taken from his parents, but grew up in the midst of his family; and the State only claimed him at sixteen to give him masters, and to receive him into the college of youths. Even the constitution of the family was modified, and the inheritance was divided equally amongst the sons. The eldest only retained the privilege of keeping the paternal house. The daughter was still excluded, but they were obliged to dower her, and, if she were an only daughter, she inherited on condition of marrying one of her nearest relations. Solon the lawgiver lived much later than Lycurgus; he reformed Athens in 595 B.C.; restored the father's

right to make a will, forbidden by religion; but a father was not allowed to pass over the claims of his own family, and only a man without children had full testamentary liberty. The paternal authority, without being weakened, was limited in duration; the son, instead of remaining in perpetual subjection, possessed rights which entailed duties; for he was obliged to support his father when the latter became old or infirm.

*Property: Labour.*—For a long time the State of Attica was disturbed by the rivalries between the wealthy Eupatrid (noble) landowners of the plains, the needy mountaineers (Dracaii), and the seafaring merchants of the coast (Parali). Property was chiefly concentrated in the hands of the landowners of the plains, who lent money at exorbitant rates of interest to the poorer inhabitants. Solon effected a peaceful revolution by his Seisachtheia, or ordinance for “shaking off the burdens” of debt. All contracts which took the land or person of the debtor as security were cancelled; and all persons reduced to slavery by their creditors were set free.

*Conditions of Social Life.*—At Athens, as elsewhere, personal slavery was accepted as a necessity, though it was distinguished by considerable humanity. The Athenians like other Greeks were most jealous of their rights of citizenship, but they extended a cordial welcome to strangers, of whom Zeus was the protecting deity. The public hospitality was a development of the private, and might exist between States, or between a State on the one hand and an individual or a family on the other. A commercial people, the Athenians were hospitable and accessible, endeavouring to make their city a centre of mercantile enterprise. Athens, a centre of commerce, was thus prepared by wide experience of humanity to become a centre of culture, of literature, and art.

*Literary and Artistic Taste: Education.*—The intelligent, witty Athenians cultivated and honoured literature and art with a success which we shall describe in the next chapter. Education was considered of primary importance. The education of a Greek youth consisted of letters, music, and gymnastics or physical education. Much time and attention were given to physical education, and every Greek town of any size had its gymnasium.

At Athens there were three great centres of physical education—the Lyceum, the Cynosarges, and the Academia. The gymnasium was carefully superintended and managed by magistrates, the Gymnasiarchs, one from each tribe. There were also the Sophronistæ, whose function it was to teach *σωφροσύνη* (a term which may be perhaps most nearly represented by self-control) to the Greek youth. They were present at all games, and looked after the conduct of the youth without as well as within the gymnasium. The Gymnastæ and other officers (Paedotribæ) gave practical instruction in physical culture according to the natural constitution and capabilities of the youths in their care. The children were early impressed with the notion that their attention to education was a part of their duty to the State.

After they had left the schools, the Athenians delighted to listen to rhetoricians, sophists, and philosophers, and to discuss serious questions. Speaking the most harmonious Ionian dialect, they had so quick an ear that the slightest false accent distressed even the common people, and the high level of general culture is evidenced by the plays that were most popular on the stage, and by the statuary and architecture that were dear to the masses as well as to the wealthy art-patrons of the nation.

*Political Liberty: Democratic Government.*—The stages by which the Athenians reached political liberty are not, as a rule, sufficiently known. They required more than five centuries to free themselves from the power of the great families, the Eupatridæ. The archonship was at first hereditary and for life, and was confined to the family of Codrus. In the archonship of Alcmaeon, the fourteenth in descent from Codrus, the archonship was curtailed to ten years. About forty years later the office was opened to all the Eupatridæ, and in 683 B.C. the archonship was made annual and was shared by nine archons, of whom one was the chief and gave his name to the year. An executive power so divided and so limited could not possibly be dangerous to the liberty of the nation, and from this time Athens was a republic.

But for a long time she still remained an aristocratic republic. The great families, who through religion and interest possessed

power over a large number of dependents, oppressed and domineered over the people. Solon broke the power of the aristocratic oligarchy and changed the test of citizenship from the qualification of birth to the qualification of wealth. The distress of the poorer classes, groaning under a burden of debt, caused by the scarcity of the gold and silver which had become the standard of exchange, first claimed his attention, and was fully dealt with by the *Seisachtheia*, by which the pressing evils of capitalism were removed and their recurrence guarded against. He divided the people into four classes, in which the citizens were placed according to their means, but the income which was the basis of the taxation was the income from land, and the power was thus placed in the hands of the landowners, not of the merchants and bankers. Capability to serve the State became the standard according to which civic rights were bestowed on the individual, for the political rights were proportioned to the taxation. Citizens who enjoyed a net income of more than 500 medimni (bushels of barley, produced from their own land, reckoned equal to 500 drachms) were eligible for the higher offices of state, but they paid a tax proportioned to their income and were subject to military service; the next two classes, the Knights who had between 300 and 500 medimni net income, and the *Zeugitæ* who had between 200 and 300 medimni, were eligible for lesser offices, paid taxes, and were subject to military service. The fourth, the *Thetes*, the poorest class, whose income was less than 200 medimni, paid no taxes, and only served in the light-armed troops. They could not aspire to public office at all.

Solon confided the administration and the defence of the city to those who had the most interest in it, giving special honour to agriculture as the most healthy, manly, and useful occupation of a citizen. Those who made their income from other means than land, by the turning over of money, however rich they might be, were placed in the lowest class. The *Thetes*, the poorest class, were not wholly excluded from power, for they had the suffrage, and also nominated the magistrates. The magistracies were numerous, annual, and, though entailing heavy expense, exercised gratuitously.

The principal institution founded by Solon was the Senate. This

was not, as at Sparta, an oligarchy of twenty-eight elderly men, but an assemblage of four hundred members elected annually by the public assembly from amongst the most highly respected men of the three upper classes, without any distinction of age.

The assembly of the people, *Ecclesia*, settled every question. The people were the real rulers; they met in the open air, in the sacred enclosure of the *Pnyx*, each time purified by the priests; the people placed themselves in order on the stone benches and listened to the different orators, who supported or opposed the projected law prepared by the senate. There was a law by which punishment attached to any orator who gave bad advice to the people. Another law forbade any orator, who had three times brought forward resolutions in opposition to the existing laws, to re-enter the tribunal. Furthermore, every law adopted bore the name of its author, and afterwards, in moments of reaction, the author could be followed up and punished. The Assembly could not pass any decision unless at least six thousand citizens were present, and it frequently became necessary to use coercive measures to force the Athenians to attend.

Solon endeavoured to give strength and permanence to this somewhat democratic organization by means of the *Areopagus*, which perhaps existed before, but which he endowed with higher authority and prestige. No one was admitted except those who had served their country in the highest offices and without blame. The *Areopagus* was formed by the *ex-archons*, who became life-members, and could only be removed for misconduct. The number of senators forming it was not fixed; at one time they numbered two or three hundred. Charged with the superintendence of morals, and above all with the judgment of criminal cases, with the protection of orphans to whom it appointed guardians, and of religion, whose detractors it punished, the *Areopagus* became a formidable and venerated tribunal, which was in no small measure a personification of justice and wisdom. Nor was this the whole of Solon's great work. He framed and established the *moral* laws, as then understood, as *sacred* laws of the life of the Athenians. He gave liberty to dispose of property by will; restricted the

paternal authority; provided for education, physical as well as moral; forbade citizens to engage in unworthy trades, such as the making and selling of unguents; limited the indulgence in gorgeous dress; fixed the weights, measures, and coinage; and established the Attic Calendar, based on the Delphic measurement of time.

*The Founding of the Democracy; the Reforms of Cleisthenes.*—Although Solon had established a democratic constitution amongst the Athenian people he had not interfered with the ancient organization of the noble clans, and even the Eupatridæ were far from losing their power, since political influence depended upon wealth, and nearly all the land was in their hands. Their ambitions and conflicts prevented the peaceful development of Solon's ideal of a united State. In Solon's lifetime the old dissensions were renewed, and Pisistratus, heading the poorest section of the people, made himself master of Athens, where it must be admitted he made a good use of his power, B.C. 560.

After the expulsion of the tyrant Hippias, son of Pisistratus (B.C. 510), Cleisthenes endeavoured to completely abolish the power of the ancient nobility, and to render the government, actually as well as nominally, democratic. He broke up the old tribal organization and divided the citizens into ten new tribes, without regard to birth and wealth, but only according to their locality. The demes, or local parishes, were at first one hundred in number, ten to each tribe, and each had its officers and purse, out of which local expenses were provided. The demes of each tribe, moreover, did not lie side by side, but were remote from one another. Thus they had no tribal centre, but all looked to the city market of Athens as their point of meeting and union, so that the capital became naturally the real centre of the whole people. The change in the tribes necessitated a change in the Senate, which was increased to the number of five hundred, fifty for each tribe. The meetings of the Ecclesia, or Assembly, became more frequent; the year was divided into ten portions, called prytanies or presidencies, in each of which the fifty senators of the tribe in office presided in the Senate and the Ecclesia, and were called prytanes. Cleisthenes



placed a powerful weapon against a return to personal tyranny in their hands ; this was ostracism, so called from the potsherd (*ostrakon*) on which the vote was written, by which the people had the right of exiling for ten years, by a vote which could neither be disputed nor justified, any citizen who even inspired distrust. It must be remembered that the State had very small force to oppose the ambition of a party leader, and ostracism was carefully guarded against abuse ; for first the Senate and Assembly had to decide by vote that it was necessary, and then six thousand votes were required to exile any person. After the introduction of ostracism there were no more attempts to establish a tyranny by force.

*The Athenians and the Spartans.*—At Athens, after the reforms of Cleisthenes, all citizens were equal before the law. There was no privileged class. Every citizen could vote, make his own laws, discuss his interests, and know what use was made of his money. He decided in favour of war, he decided to risk his own life or his children's, he defended his judicial interests before other citizens. If he belonged to the upper classes he could aspire to a seat in the Senate. The elections were annual, and the number of magistrates considerable in proportion to the citizens ; thus every one might be a magistrate of his deme or of the city. It was, in short, if it were not for slavery, an ideal democracy. The people retained a loyal devotion to what was ancient. There was little or no hatred among the commons for the nobility. The common religion gave to certain ancient families certain religious duties, but civic authority depended on personal fitness.

The Spartan had not this love of discussion and liberty. There were few magistracies in his restricted city, the authority was concentrated in the hands of a few Ephors and of a Senate of twenty-eight members ; or, as the two Kings voted in the Senate, the Senate might be said to be thirty. The Spartan could not feel any interest in political rights or debates. He obeyed a few chiefs because they were of his own race, and this obedience cost him very little because it secured his dominion over the races of Laconia and his preponderance in Greece.

The Spartan hunted or fought. He passed nearly all his time

outside the city. He knew nothing of the sweetness of domestic life, and had little appreciation of family affection. His study was the development of his strength and skill, his delight was in victory.

The Athenian had more varied enjoyments. He read and talked, disputed and philosophized, voted and traded; at the same time he knew how to fight. Assiduous in his attendance at the assemblies and tribunals he learnt to sacrifice his private interests to the public good. He gave his time and his intelligence to the State, for the State was to him a second life since he was already a minute influence in it, and might ultimately become one of its pilots. The Athenian could not be idle, because outside his personal business he was occupied with public affairs. Political freedom interested and sometimes excited him. He was conscious of life because he lived for himself and for others. The Spartan legislation only developed one sentiment of humanity—courage. The Athenian developed all the faculties. The Spartan was self-absorbed in his pride; the Athenian amiability influenced all around him. The Athenian frequented the port, questioned the new-comers, bought, sold, communicated with his fellows, and humanized himself by contact with other men. In a word, the Spartan manhood was only felt in time of war; the Athenian manhood was present at all times. The Spartan only thought of a glorious death, the Athenian of a useful life. Sparta was only a school of soldiers; Athens was a school of citizens, sages, and artists. Sparta was a camp; Athens a city, a society, which by its delicate sentiments, its taste and refinement approached more nearly than any other State of antiquity to the ideal of human societies. "In Athens," says Curtius, "a thoroughly new and peculiar character had developed itself out of that belonging to the Ionic race. The main features, indeed, had remained the same; above all, a lively receptivity of mind for everything beautiful and useful, a delight in suggestive intercourse, a many-sided view of life and culture, a flexibility and presence of mind under the most varied circumstances." The discipline of the State, in short, had converted Ionians into Athenians.

*Ancient Liberty.*—The reputation of the Athenian democracy should, however, not deceive us respecting the real character of ancient liberty. That liberty bore no resemblance to the liberty enjoyed by modern nations. In ancient times the good of the community was the object rather than the independence of the individual. All his instincts were sacrificed to it, and each step was bound to it, either by religion or by the city laws. Although Athens allowed freer scope to natural sentiments the citizens were subject to a number of civic obligations. The citizen of Athens was forced to submit to the State religion and to fulfil the public functions, which chance or election imposed upon him; constrained to neglect his family and fortune, to decide the interests or regulate the families of others; and to abandon his industry or trade for the tribunals or the people's assembly. He could not withdraw his children from the public education, nor himself abstain from sharing onerous duties. If he worked to fill the offices of State he must not be obliged to work for his living, and it was necessary to possess some wealth before he could enjoy the advantages of political liberty. In short, if liberty were universal so was obedience to the State. The city was free but not the citizen.

*The Greek Colonies.*—It would be an error to restrict Grecian history to the Hellenic peninsula. Hellas includes the whole nation of Hellenes, who spread over all the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean and the adjacent seas. The Hellenes, finding their native land too narrow for them, spread first to the east, occupying the fertile islands of the Archipelago. From these islands they passed to the coasts of Asia, Sicily, and Italy, where they planted colonies in favourable situations.

*The Colonies in Asia Minor.*—The Hellenes early overspread the islands and converted the *Ægean* into a Greek lake, and on the Asiatic as well as the European side Hellas and Hellenic life flourished. At an early but uncertain date a number of *Æolians* settled on the north-west shores of Asia Minor. To the south of the *Æolians* the *Ionians* spread between the *Hermus* and the *Mæander*. "They built their towns," said Herodotus, "beneath

the most beautiful sky and in the finest climate that we know amongst men." Finally, to the south of the Ionians, the Dorians planted a number of colonies. The Ionic cities quickly developed that superiority in expansion and wealth which was the outcome of the spirit of enterprise and mercantile vigour which distinguished the Ionic race. These Asiatic colonies in their turn founded new colonies on the Thracian Chersonese, on the Propontis (the Sea of Marmora), on the Euxine or Black Sea. From Ionic Miletus, the chief commercial city in Asia, as indeed in Hellas during the eighth and seventh centuries, rapid colonization went on. In no city was agriculture made so secondary to industry and trade as here. The daring sailors of Miletus penetrated to the farthest shore of the Black Sea, where the Milesian colonies were numerous, and also to the farther Mediterranean coasts. Cyzicus in the Propontis and Sinope in the Euxine were the chief centres of Milesian commerce in the north, and thence the Hellenes penetrated to all the coasts of the Pontus. The Milesian colony of Tanais opened up a way for the commerce of the Scythians of the Don and of the products of the Ural Mountains and Siberia, and their colonies on the Phasis were in communication with the markets of Asia, and especially of India. From Sinope arose smaller editions of Miletus, and the sailors of Phoea founded Lampsacus.

*Colonies of Thrace and Macedonia.*—The coasts of Thrace and Macedonia were covered in the eighth century with colonies from Eretria and Chalcis, in the island of Eubœa. From Corinth came a few colonies, of which the principal was Potidœa. The Megarians founded Chalcedon and Byzantium, near the Bosporus.

*Italian and Sicilian Colonies.*—It was Corinth that founded the chief colonies in the West, first in the island of Corcyra, whence the colonies, especially Chalcis, peopled the coasts of Acarnania with their surplus population. Corinth with Megara explored and colonized Sicily. Syracuse was Corinthian.

The Greek tribes of Asia Minor had at a very early period established an active copper trade with Hesperia (Italy), and settled there in large numbers. The earliest of the Hellenic colonies in Hesperia was Cyme (Cumæ), on the Tyrrhenian Sea, founded by emigrants

from Cyme in Eubœa. From Cyme a colony established itself on the Sicilian side of the straits at Zancle, and the tide of immigrants rapidly ousted the Phœnicians from their ownership of the shores of the island till they reached the north-west corner, where the Carthaginians, putting out all their strength, successfully stayed the Greek advance.

There was no predominant race in Southern Italy when colonies of the old Ionic race from the Peloponnesus planted Sybaris and Croton by Locrians (Locri), by Laeonians (Tarentum), by Chalcidians (Rhegium). Lastly, the enterprising Ionians of Phocœa pushed on to Gaul and Spain, founding several colonies, chief among which was Massalia (Marseilles), a centre of Greek civilization to Southern Gaul. From Massalia the Phocœans founded colonies along the Mediterranean coast, at Nicœa (Nice) and Monœcus (Monaco), under the Maritime Alps, and at Agatha (Agde), and various points of the coast towards Spain. In Spain they penetrated to Tartessus (Tarshish), and shared with the Phœnicians the commerce of Southern Spain. To Massalia came loads of British tin, and amber from the Baltic, for adventurous voyages of discovery opened up the Western and Northern Ocean, where the ebb and flow of the tide first engaged the attention of the mariners of a tideless sea. Thus the Phocœans, the representatives of Greek civilization, extended their commerce from the shores of the Black Sea to the shores of the Atlantic.

*African Colonies.*—Africa did not escape the notice of the Greek explorers. The relations between Greece and Libya were ancient and close. The Cretan seamen kept up communication with the African shore. But it was to colonists of Thera that the great Greek city in Africa, Cyrene, owed its foundation. Here, at some distance from the shore, grew up a great centre of Hellenic life, where the Hellenes were brought into communication with the peoples and products of Africa, which came in caravans to the far-famed market of the great Greek town. The kings of Cyrene became monarchs whose friendship was courted by the kings of Egypt. Into Egypt the Milesians had early penetrated, and in the middle of the eighth century a factory was established by them at

the Canopian outlet of the Nile. In 650 B.C. the succession of the Libyan King Psametik to the Egyptian throne opened up Egypt, for the Greek support was relied on by the king, and everywhere they were held in honour. The great mercantile colony Naucratis was another joint foundation of combined Greek towns, four Ionian and four Dorian.

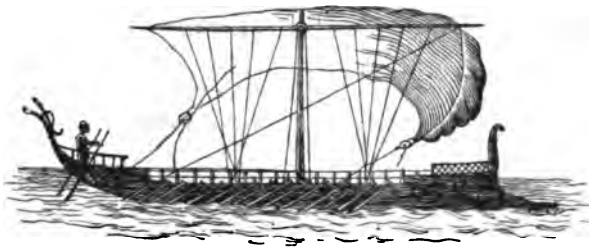
*The Colonies and the Metropolis.*—The independence which the colonies enjoyed did not prevent them from acknowledging a mother city or metropolis. This was the city from the Prytaneum of which the sacred fire had been taken to kindle the fire kept up on the public hearth. The colonists recognised this holy bond by annually sending an embassy deputed to offer up sacrifices in the metropolitan temples. The colonists maintained their union with the parent city through the community of religion, and the tie was a filial one.

*Influence and Prosperity of the Greek Colonies.*—The Greeks at first learned navigation from the Phœnicians, and then usurped their place. All nations in any way connected with the Mediterranean were enduringly affected by Greek culture, and the Ægean, and its coasts and islands, became the centre of Greek civilization. The Greeks combined an ardour for exploration with a constant love of home. The sacred fire, the sculptured gods of the old city, went with the colonists, and the new home was formed on the model of the old. The Ionians were the most successful colonists. The colonies saved Greece from over-population, and at the same time procured for the mother cities power and commerce. The Ionians freely intermarried with the barbarians, and this aided the growth of Greek influence and culture. Wherever Greeks came, came the new civilization, and morasses were drained and harbours formed, and happier conditions of life introduced. And so the Hellenization of the people of the Mediterranean went on with wonderful rapidity and success.\*

The colonies, composed of men of different cities, and having enterprise and resources in themselves sufficient to make their ventures successful, often surpassed in energy and splendour the cities of

\* Curtius, "History of Greece," book ii., chap. iii.

the mother country. The localities where colonies were planted were specially selected for advantages of situation and excellence of products, and soon the best of everything was to be found outside Hellas proper. The splendour of a life when men were unshackled by the heritage of the past far surpassed what was possible in the old cities of Greece, and we may regard as repre-



Greek Vessel.

sentative a saying concerning the Agrigentines, that they built as if they were to live for ever, and dined as if they were anxious to make the most of the last day of their existence.

*The Conflict with Asia: Opposition between the Greek World and the Oriental World.*—The extension of the Greek world was not less considerable because it was divided by the sea; it formed a nation which, in spite of its dialects, spoke the same language, worshipped the same chief deities, and through the medium of different political constitutions displayed the same love of liberty and the same deep sense of human dignity.

The Greek world, through its Asiatic colonies, came into contact with the Oriental world. The Greeks occupied all the northern and western coasts of Asia Minor, and thus closed the sea to the people of the interior. The whole of the commerce of Lydia passed through the Greek cities, and was carried in Greek ships. Cræsus, King of Lydia (B.C. 560), was the first to subdue the Asiatic Greeks, but his rule was easy, for his admiration for Greece proper was unbounded. The fall of Cræsus brought a change for the Asiatic Greeks to

Persian rule. The people of Phocæa and Teos, rather than submit to the Persians, collected their goods and families and went into exile, the Phocæans sailing to Italy and founding Elea, and the Teians to Thrace, where they founded Abdera.

*Character of the Median Wars.*—The revolt of the Ionic cities of Asia Minor, headed by Miletus, against Darius, led to the Median wars. The burning of Sardis by the Ionians and Athenians resolved Darius to be revenged on the Athenians. Ionia was subjugated after a brave resistance, and Mardonius, at the head of a



Greek Soldier.

Persian army, invaded Greece, with orders to bring to Susa the Athenians and Eretrians who had insulted the Great King. The first expedition of Mardonius failed (B.C. 492). The next expedition, under Datis and Artaphernes, took Eretria and razed the city to the ground, and then landed in Attica, and Miltiades, despot of the Chersonese, was given supreme command of the Athenian army. The little Greek force, vastly outnumbered, were the first foes who dared to look the Medes in the face on the field of battle.

Miltiades ordered the Greeks to charge, and after a long and fierce contest the Persians fled, and the battle between Hellas and the East was won. The defeat of Marathon only incensed Darius, and he made vast preparations for an invasion of Greece. His death put the power into the hands of his son, Xerxes, who crossed the Hellespont at the head of an immense host (B.C. 480), and gaining accessions from the Thracian and Macedonian tribes, his army numbered, according to Herodotus, about two and a half millions when it reached Thermopylæ. At Thermopylæ Leo-



nidas and his Spartans gained by their heroic death a moral victory, which had much to do with the ultimate success of the Greeks. All Greeks were encouraged and all Persians disheartened by seeing the vast superiority of Greeks to Easterns proved on that hard-fought field. The battle of Salamis completely established the superiority of the Greek navy and almost destroyed the Persian fleet. Xerxes returned to Asia, and Mardonius remained to subjugate Greece. The battle of Platæa was the decisive victory of the war. Marathon and Salamis merely broke the courage of the Persians. The power of the invader was completely annihilated at Platæa. The territory of Platæa accordingly was declared sacred and inviolable under the protection of the states of confederate Hellas.

Naturally we sympathise with a nation defending its country, but in this case the Greeks defended the future of humanity as well as their own. Had Greece surrendered, the levelling degradation of Eastern despotism would have extended over Europe, as well as over Asia and Africa. The thousand lamps that science had lighted in the islands of the *Ægean* and on the shores of Greece would have been extinguished; humanity would have been lost in the enervating apathy by which Oriental despotism is supported. This is the secret of the deep emotion with which we read the accounts of the famous battles of Miltiades, of Leonidas, of Themistocles, and Pausanias. It seems as though we ourselves, in spite of the centuries that have rolled between, are interested in the issue of the battles of Marathon, of Salamis, of Platæa, which are celebrated for ever, because they secured the triumph of civilization over barbarism. For in very truth the conflict involved the annihilation or continuance of Greek life. Greece and her whole civilization would have been lost had the Persians proved successful; of this the Persian destruction of the Greek temples is a proof. All spiritual life would have been crushed out by an Eastern despotism; and without freedom neither Greek religion, nor Greek art, nor, in short, Greek life, would have been possible. The result of the conflict was to raise the confidence of Hellenes in Hellas to the

highest point, and to unite the states with the sense of a common glory and a common country.

The completeness of the Greek victory was the more surprising because the Greek disunion imperilled success both at Artemisium and Salamis. It was not all Hellas which stood against the Eastern world, but two states of Hellas, Athens and Sparta, supported by some of the minor states. At Platæa the Boeotians, headed by the Thebans, fought desperately on the Persian side. The Persians had incalculable superiority of numbers and money. They had no lack of brave men. But the Greeks, with their perfect physical training, were man for man altogether superior to the Persians; their weapons were superior, and they understood the use of them perfectly. Moreover, the Persians had stirred the religious ardour of the people by the destruction of the holy places of Greece. The Greeks felt that the gods were on their side; and the Persians after their first defeats lost heart and expected failure. The springing valour of the Greeks was fired to superhuman vigour by the vastness and unexpectedness of their successes. The victory of the Greeks was a victory of constitutionalism over despotism. It was a victory of liberal principles. The men who owned no lord and master had proved themselves superior in discipline and vigour to the servants of the Great King. More than this. The Athenians alone from first to last had adhered to a disinterested patriotism. And so the Greek victory was a victory of democracy over aristocracy, a victory of democratic Athens over aristocratic Sparta, for Sparta had sacrificed her headship of Greece to her dishonest Isthmus policy.

*Glory of Athens: Pericles.*—The glory of the Persian wars belonged principally to Athens. Although in the time of danger the Greeks forgot their division and united their troops and vessels against the common enemy, the weight of the struggle was chiefly borne by Athens. Athens, therefore, justly proud of her services and power, claimed to be considered the first city in Greece. The cities and islands of Ionia delivered by Athens joined her in a vast maritime confederation. The naval hegemony passed from Sparta to Athens, and Athens became the federal capital of the confedera-

tion in the Archipelago. The contributions to the fund of the national Hellenic power were some 460 talents yearly (£112,125), and treasurers or *Hellano-tamizæ* were appointed for its administration.

After the Persian war Cimon, who succeeded to the position and power of Themistocles, maintained the Conservative and cautious party at Athens in its supremacy until Pericles, joining the Themistoclean party, or the party of Reform, headed a vigorous attack on Cimon. The Reformers, finding the Areopagus a continual obstacle to the rapid progress of democracy, passed a law depriving that venerable court of all influence on the conduct of affairs and on legislation. Cimon was ostracised, and soon after a great step towards establishing the headship of Athens in Hellas was taken by the transfer of the funds of the Attic and Ionian confederation (some 1,800 talents) from the sanctuary of the Delian Apollo to Athens. Athens thus became the capital of the *Ægean* and her Acropolis its treasury, and the centre of the empire of islands and coasts. A fierce struggle now began between the Peloponnesian maritime states, headed by Corinth on the one hand and Athens on the other. Everywhere Athenian arms were successful, and so wide-spread was the enterprise and energy of the Athenians that on the sepulchral column of the Ceramicus were inscribed the names of soldiers of Athens who had fallen in one year (458-7 B.C.), off Cyprus, in Egypt, Phœnicia, Cyme, and Megara.

Severe reverses, however, followed, and it was only the energy and statesmanship of Pericles, obtaining a thirty years' peace with Sparta, that saved Athens. The Persian wars, too, were at an end. A tacit understanding was arrived at, by which Persians and Athenians alike abstained from offensive operations. The years of peace gave Pericles the opportunity he required to raise Athens to the highest point of power and splendour, and to make her beyond all question the greatest city in all Hellas. Attic culture was complete in its aims. Grammar, music, and gymnastics employed the young, and the aim was that they should become trained in exerting body and soul for worthy purposes, according to a regular

discipline. Nowhere has the ideal of a free and universal culture been so keenly realised as at Athens in the days of Pericles. The public life of Pericles is conterminous with the great age of Athens. Then it was that Athens became at once the intellectual capital and the artistic capital of Hellas. Never before or since has such a society of philosophers and poets, orators and historians, flourished together. At Athens the culture of all parts of Hellas met, and new light gleamed out from the contact of many minds. And so there grew out of all the acquisitions of the Hellenic intellect a universal culture at once Attic and national. No Hellene, however hostile, could fail to perceive that where *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Herodotus*, *Zeno*, *Anaxagoras*, *Protagoras*, *Crates*, and *Cratinus* were working together was the heart of the whole nation, a Hellas within Hellas. This intellectual activity was thoroughly in touch with actual life; there were no specialists, no narrow limitations, the cultivation of the arts and sciences did not withdraw from civic life, for every man was anxious to be a complete citizen in every sense.

And in Athens, thus full of intellectual vitality, art also flourished, especially architecture and the plastic arts. The State supplied the necessary resources and worthy tasks for the skill of *Polygnotus* and his school in painting, under *Cimon*, and afterwards for the genius of *Phidias*, master in the domain of sculpture, as *Pericles* was in politics. *Pericles* and *Phidias* took counsel together to restore the sanctuaries destroyed in the War of Liberation, and to commemorate those wars in a worthy fashion. When the scheme of national union had proved unsuccessful, Athens spent all the available resources on the same objects, but within her own limits. The whole city was improved and adorned. But it was on the Acropolis that *Pericles* and *Phidias* concentrated their efforts. Here there was ample space. Here arose a new festive edifice and treasure-house, the Parthenon. Here forty colossal statues and four thousand square feet of high and low reliefs bore the mark of the creative intellect of *Phidias*. Here too *Phidias* produced the colossal bronze statue of *Athene Promachos* (the Champion), fifty feet in height, which stood on the

citadel under the open sky on a mighty pedestal; and the golden point of the goddess' spear and the floating helmbush were the first signs by which ships sailing from Sunium recognised the Attic citadel. Another statue, that of Athene Parthenos (the Virgin) was supplied with precious stones for eyes and had coloured cheeks and hair. The robe of the Parthenos was of gold, and weighed forty talents. These are specimens of the activity of the art industry at Athens during the age of Pericles.

"The Acropolis of Athens opened its hospitable galleries of columns to all who wished to visit the temples and festivals of the Athenians, rising from the lower city as the crown of the whole, like a great dedicatory offering with its colossi, its temples and halls and with the marble edifice of the Propylæa shining like a precious frontlet on its brow." And the splendour and prosperity of Athens filled her citizens with a loftier patriotism, and, as Pericles had desired, even the subjects and foreigners felt the impression and acknowledged the greatness of Athens, in which all Greeks could not but take pride, as the centre of Greek life, and so feel themselves in some sort Athenians. The lavish expenditure of the public money was thus no waste; it fulfilled its purpose, and gave Athens a position otherwise unattainable as the greatest city of Greece, the pride of every Hellenic.

Comparative Table of the Legislations of Lycurgus and Solon.

| <p>SPARTA.<br/>LYCURGUS (880P).</p>   | <p>ATHENS.<br/>SOLON (595).</p>  |
|---|--|
| <p>PRINCIPLE OF THE SPARTAN LAWS.<br/><i>Equality of the Spartans.</i></p>  | <p>PRINCIPLE OF THE ATHENIAN LAWS.<br/><i>Liberty.</i></p>   |
| <p>POLITICAL ORGANIZATION :<br/><i>Oligarchy.</i></p>   | <p>POLITICAL ORGANIZATION :<br/><i>Democracy.</i></p>  |
| <p>2 kings, warriors and religious chiefs.<br/>Senate (28 elders).<br/>Ephors (overseers to the king).<br/>Assembly of warriors, of Spartans, who ratified the vote for the laws.</p>   | <p>9 annual Archons.<br/>Senate (400 members).<br/>People's assembly, with whom rested the decision for peace or war, named the magistrates.<br/>Areopagus, supreme tribunal.</p>  |
| <p>SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.</p>   | <p>SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.</p>  |
| <p>3 classes or rather 3 peoples :<br/>Dorians or Spartans,<br/>Laconians,<br/>Helots.<br/><br/>Division of land.<br/>Tyranny of the State, to which a child belonged rather than to his family.<br/>Public meals.<br/>Contempt for agricultural labour or commercial industry.<br/><br/>Exclusion of strangers.<br/>Frightful condition of the Helots.<br/>War or hunting the sole occupation of the Spartans.<br/>Sparta an exclusively military State.</p> | <p>A united people.<br/>4 classes, ranked according to wealth, but all could raise themselves to the first.<br/>Taxes proportioned to the fortune.<br/>Freedom of property.<br/>Liberty of the family.<br/>Education at once physical and intellectual.<br/>Work compulsory for all.<br/>Commercial and industrial prosperity.<br/>Welcome extended to strangers.<br/>Humanity shown towards slaves.<br/>Athens is an industrious, commercial, artistic, and liberal city ;<br/>the true centre of Greek civilization.</p> |

## CHAPTER IX.

### GREEK LITERATURE AND ART.

**SUMMARY:** Origin of Poetry—Epic Poetry—The Homeric Epic: the “*Iliad*” and “*Odyssey*”—Hesiod—Elegiac and Iambic Poetry; Satire; Political Changes—Dramatic Poetry: Origin and Character of the Greek Theatre—Dramatic Competitions—Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides; brilliancy of Greek Literature in the Time of Pericles—Comedy; Aristophanes—Prose Writing—History: Herodotus—Thucydides—Xenophon—The First Philosophers—Plato—Aristotle—Pyrrhonism—Stoicism and Epicurism—Oratory: Demosthenes—Science—Medicine—Art—Architecture: The Three Orders of Architecture—The Monuments: The Parthenon, the Propylæa—Sculpture: Phidias—Painting: Polygnotus, Zeuxis—Music.

*The Origin of Poetry.*—Poetry, which has been well defined by a great living critic\* as “the concrete and artistic expression of the human mind in emotional and rhythmical language,” found its first adequate expression in the Homeric poems woven from the songs of the Heroic Age by Ionian art. In the Homeric poems the Hellenes first attained a high level of self-interpretation, and Homer became the centre of national feeling and a token of mental recognition as against all barbarians. The Greeks of the farthest colonies on the Black Sea or in Spain preserved their nationality by causing their children to grow up perfectly at home in Homer.

There are no remains of the poetry of the Greeks before the great Homeric poems. But the “*Iliad*” and the “*Odyssey*” are works of developed art, based, it is certain, on an earlier poetry, of which we find traces, as in the old Greek songs known to us by name, the Song of Linus, the Song of Hylas. This early poetry was closely connected with religion. The powers of nature were

\* Theodore Watts, in his article “Poetry” in the “*Encyclopædia Britannica*.”

personified as the natural result of nature-worship, and the principal of them became the subjects of song. This worship of the visible powers of nature—the Sun, the Dawn, the Earth—belongs originally, it is generally supposed, to the time when the Indo-Germanic race lived a single people in the cradle-lands of Central Asia. Gradually the natural powers were personified, and in the Vedas of India as in the *Linus Song* of Greece we find the process going on.

Hymns to the gods were among the earliest poetry, and the marriage hymn and the funeral dirge were originally religious, but in the "*Iliad*" are found to be already secular and popular.

*Epic Poetry.*—The early minstrels (*oidoi*) chanted the deeds of the heroes, accompanying their songs with the harp. They sang at the banquets of princes the deeds of brave men. Out of these songs the epic developed itself.\* At a later date reciters, known as rhapsodists (weavers of songs), recited the Homeric poems without accompaniment of music, chanting the sonorous lines with branches of laurel in their hands.

*The Homeric Epic: the "Iliad" and "Odyssey."*—The "*Iliad*" and "*Odyssey*" were accepted as the work of one poet till about 170 B.C., when the Separators, a school of critics, began to maintain a double authorship based on differences of style in the two poems. The theory of Wolf (1795 A.D.) that the poems of Homer were the work of a number of poets, and were not written at first but framed from the original poems by the commission of Pisistratus, has been modified by more recent study. The "*Iliad*," it is now thought by the best critics, was enlarged and remodelled by several hands from a shorter poem by one poet, the "*Wrath of Achilles*," composed probably B.C. 940. The fixed belief of all Greece in a single poet Homer strongly sustains this theory. Homer may have formed his poem from the primitive war-lays of the Ionian bards, and thus would naturally be regarded as the author of the first and greatest epic.

\* The epic (*epē*, "spoken verses," as distinguished from *mēlōi*, things sung) was narrative poetry in hexameter verse, and was so called because it was recited, while lyrics were sung to music.



The "Odyssey," too, is the work of one poet, but is of much later composition than the "Wrath of Achilles," and was probably composed shortly before 850 B.C. It has been much less altered than the original of the "Iliad." Whether the "Wrath of Achilles" was originally preserved only by memory or committed to writing is a question impossible to decide with the materials we possess.

The "Iliad," that is, the poem of Ilion (Troy), a city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, relates the series of great events in the siege of Troy by the Greeks. Paris, son of Priam, King of Troy, had carried off Helen, the fairest among women, wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta. Helen's father (Tyndareus) had bound her many suitors to aid in every way the man she should marry if she were taken from him. Accordingly Agamemnon, King of Mycenæ, collected the chiefs of the Greeks and sailed to besiege Troy. The great hero among the Greeks was Achilles, son of the sea-goddess Thetis and Peleus, a Thessalian king. Achilles, affronted by an insult inflicted on him by Agamemnon, refused to fight for the Greeks, and retired to his tent. The "Iliad" begins at this point, and the wrath of Achilles, what were its results and how it was removed, is the subject of the epic.

The Greeks, without their champion, were hard pressed by the Trojans. At last Achilles allowed his friend Patroclus to take his armour and lead his men against Troy. Hector, the Trojan champion, slays Patroclus. Then at last Achilles rises in his might, his wrath turns against the slayer of his friend; he kills Hector, and the "Iliad" concludes with the touching scene in which King Priam comes to beg the body of Hector from Achilles, and the truce that follows to permit the funeral rites of the best and bravest of the Trojans.

Achilles, the godlike youth with his passionate and generous character, his deep love of his friend, his foreknowledge and acceptance of an early death, is the central figure of the poem. Something of the interest which his love of Patroclus gives to Achilles, Hector gains from the love of Andromache, his wife. The testimony of Helen as to his treatment of her indicates a rare delicacy and nobleness of character in the Trojan leader. Women are of a noble type and

hold a higher and more equal place in the "Iliad" than in the life of historic Greece. Monogamy is the rule. The sense of honour is the basis of the moral law, and with this is joined a feeling of indignation at all injustice. The home life to which the "Iliad" introduces us is simple, bright, and happy. Though there is full knowledge of working in metals, and though gold is common, oxen are still the standard of value, writing is still unknown. The "Iliad" came from Ionian Asia Minor and the islands to Greece proper.

The "Odyssey," or poem of Odysseus, tells of the adventures of the King of Ithaca, Odysseus (Ulysses), the ablest intellect among the Greeks, on his journey home after the taking of Troy. It was ten years after Troy fell when the "Odyssey" opens with Ulysses detained seven years in the island of Ogygia by the nymph Calypso. From Odysseus the poem takes us to his home in Thrace, where his constant wife Penelope is with difficulty keeping at bay the hundred suitors who are eager for her hand. Odysseus, at last set free by divine intervention, sails on a raft from Ogygia and reaches the island of the Phæacians, where the Princess Nausicaa befriends him, and King Alcinous and Queen Arêtê receive him hospitably. Thence he went home in a ship, and when he arrives, disguised as a beggarman, is recognised only by his faithful old dog Argus, who dies even in the moment of recognition. Then follows an audience with Penelope, who does not recognise him, and then the surprise and slaughter of the suitors by Odysseus aided by his son Telemachus and his faithful servants. Intellectual ability, or rather common-sense in an uncommon degree, is present in Odysseus. Nausicaa is a charming study of pure and noble maidenhood. The home-life of King Alcinous's household is simple and happy, and the relations between masters and retainers, as seen in those of Odysseus and Eumæus, are those of friendship rather than service. The "Iliad" and "Odyssey" were the Greek Bible, the book on which the imagination of the whole people fed, and by which their ideals were formed to a very late period. The love of natural beauty is very remarkable at so early a date; and the word-pictures of scenery are marvellously fresh and real.

*Hesiod.*—Hesiod, who flourished probably about a century later than the “*Iliad*,” perhaps between 850—800 B.C., is joined with Homer in Greek tradition as representing the oldest poetry. He deals with the realities of daily life and uses poetry as a means of instruction. His chief poem is called the “*Works and Days*,” and “the *Théogony* and *Origin of the Gods*.” In the first he extols and explains the work of agriculture, as observed in his quiet Bœotian home, blending wise counsels and moral truths with his technical descriptions. In the second he attempts to arrange the system of religion, based on the old hymns and legends of the Greeks, which he collects as sacred relics, not as material to be shaped by the imagination. The Homeric and the Hesiodic schools meet in the Homeric hymns, of which the most important are to the Delian Apollo and the Pythian Apollo, to Hermes, to Aphrodite, to Demeter. These hymns are in all about thirty-three, and by many hands. None belong to the best days of Ionian epic poetry.

*Elegiac and Iambic Poetry; Satire; Political Changes.*—The revolutions which substituted oligarchy for monarchy, and again tyranny (the unconstitutional rule of one) for oligarchy, and lastly democracy for tyranny, gave impetus to mental and moral development in the citizen. And now between 700—500 B.C. a new poetry begins, a poetry that deals with thoughts and feeling. This poetry took the form of elegiacs and iambics. Elegiacs are a modification of the epic hexameter, and the title elegy signifies a song of mourning accompanied by the Lydian flute. Iambics were so called from the light sparkling iambic metre being used for the raillery that belonged to the worship of Demeter. Both elegiac and iambic poetry were originally Ionian. Callinus of Ephesus was the first to distinguish himself in this new style of literature and used the elegy for inspiring a martial spirit among the Ionians against the Cimmerian invaders (seventh century B.C.). Tyrtaeus (same century), an Ionian, encouraged the Spartans during the Messenian war with his war songs, and the Spartans used to repeat his anapests as they marched to battle, and his elegiac lays as they rested in their tents to rouse their hearts for the morrow's conflict.

Archilochus, an Ionian of Paros, a contemporary of Tyrtaeus, and a writer of great power, used the elegy for mourning for the dead, and first developed the resources of iambs in his terrible satire on his personal enemies.

Solon (594 B.C.) employed elegiacs for moral as well as warlike subjects. The celebrated Athenian legislator in his youth had, by running among the people reciting an enthusiastic elegy he had composed, inspired the Athenians to conquer the island of Salamis when they had sunk into a state of cowardly discouragement induced by the successes of Megara. As the last verses were uttered—

“Up! and to Salamis on; let us fight for the beautiful island,  
Wrathfully down to the dust spurning the yoke of our shame”—

the Athenians rushed down to their ships, and under the poet's inspiration conquered Salamis and entered upon a life of continuous upward progress. He afterwards confined himself to precepts, to maxims for conduct, to moral teaching, in which Phocylides of Miletus and Theognis of Megara used the elegiac metre. Simonides of Ceos (480 B.C.) used elegiacs for noble epitaphs on the Greeks who fell in the Persian war; but he was still more famous for his lyrical compositions.

Lyric, or as the Greeks called it *melic*, poetry was always intended to be sung to music, and thus distinguished from epic, which was simply recited. The Æolians of Lesbos were famous for their lyrical poetry.

Alcæus, a Lesbian nobleman of Mitylene (611 B.C.—580 B.C.), was actively engaged in the conflict between the nobles and the commons. He wrote songs of war and love, of convivial meetings and of political conflicts, but only a few fragments remain to us. From him the Alcaic Stanza, so ably used by Horace, takes its name. Alcæus speaks of “Chaste dark-haired Sappho,” with her honey-sweet smile, for whom he feels at once passionate attraction and reverent awe. This great woman-poet was also Lesbian, and unexcelled in intensity of passion and perfect melody of musical language. She was the centre of a school of women poets, and of

the work of one, the most celebrated of her disciples, Erinna, some fragments are extant. The life of women of high rank in Æolian society was large and free, and rich in intellectual interests; and, indeed, it must be remembered that the seclusion of women in classical times was mostly confined to Athens.

The Dorian state, like the Æolian, was ruled by a warlike nobility, and like the Æolian excelled in lyric poetry; but unlike the Æolians the Dorians were not occupied with their personal interests and feelings. And so Dorian lyric poetry was sung, not by a single voice as was the Æolian, but by a chorus. Aleman of Sparta (660 B.C.) shaped and developed the choral ode, and Stesichorus of Himera, in Sicily, completed the development. Arion (600 B.C.) gave a finished form to the dithyramb or choral hymn to Dionysus. Anacreon of Teos (580 B.C.) was an Ionian poet whose songs were consecrated to love, wine, and music. A few fragments only of his work remain. Simonides of Ceos (556—468 B.C.) was an Ionian trained in the Dorian school, and living much in Athens, wrote the first lyric poems that appealed to all Greece.

Simonides stands second among the lyrists, but second to Pindar alone. Pindar, the most illustrious of the lyric poets (the national lyric poet of Greece) was born in Bœotia, near Thebes (522 B.C.).

All the chords of the lyre vibrated under his skilful hands. Every kind of lyric is to be found in his fragments. Of the numerous poems only the "Epinicia," odes of triumph, remain complete. In them Pindar celebrates the victors' triumphs in the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games. Pindar did not often give a detailed account of a victory, for there is a necessary sameness in chariot races, athletic competitions, success in throwing the quoits. If the winner of a victory had no history, Pindar took some legend of the Heroic Age, and on this expended his powers. Passing from one digression to the other the poet reached some noble theme, which his genius made sublime. Moderns cannot judge of Pindar's works, for Pindar's odes were accompanied by music as an indispensable adjunct to the effect to be produced,

and we have not now the old adjuncts, the scenic splendour of a great festival and the enthusiasm of the audience, together with the reverential worship with which the Greeks listened to the great poet, the trusted friend of the guardian of religion at Delphi.

*Dramatic Poetry : Origin and Character of the Greek Theatre.—*

Dramatic poetry appeared at a later date in Greece, where it developed out of the hymns sung by rustic worshippers at the festivals of Dionysus in honour of the god and relating some of his adventures. Dionysus, the god of wine, the giver of joy and gladness, supplier of the elevating power to human life, making his progress through the earth, with dangers and difficulties but ultimate triumph, was the divinity who most reached the heart and touched the imagination of the Hellenic race. At his festivals the leader of the chorus which sang his adventures gradually began to represent the character of the god himself. Thus from the choral hymn, the dithyramb, sung to Dionysus, arose tragedy (the goat song), because a goat was sacrificed to the god before the hymn began, or possibly because of the goatlike appearance of the satyrs who followed Dionysus; and comedy, the "village" song, or the song of the revellers who plied the bystanders with rough sallies of wit in the intervals of the singing.

The first to develop the dithyramb was Arion (800 B.C.), who organized a trained choir of fifty to move round the altar. Thus the Dorians made the first step in the development; but further progress was due to the Athenians. Thespis (536 B.C.) changed the plan of the dialogue by making it no longer between the leader or coryphæus and the chorus, but between the coryphæus and one of the chorus, who was called the Answerer (*hypocrites*, a word afterwards used for Actor). Phrynichus of Athens made some improvements, but to Æschylus, an Athenian, who first competed for the tragic prize in 500 B.C., the real development of tragedy is due. He introduced a second actor, and the dialogue thus became at once independent of the chorus, and superior to the choral song. The introduction of a third actor was the work of Sophocles in 468 B.C.

The Greeks did not shut themselves into a smoky hall. In the open air, under their beautiful blue sky, they listened to songs and recitations which enthralled them during entire days. The temporary wooden stage gave place to the great theatre of Dionysus, begun 500 B.C., in a semicircular shape, at the foot of the Acropolis. The lower seats were artificial, the upper seats were hewn in the solid rock of the Acropolis. The theatre held over twenty thousand persons. Placed on a raised stage, the actors wore masks, and in order to be better seen their feet were shod with thick-soled buskins, which increased their height. The chorus remained in a place reserved for them in front of the stage, the orchestra. In the middle of the orchestra was the thymele, or altar of Dionysus. This was the centre of the movements of the chorus. A high wall pierced with three doors, that closed the stage from behind, was the scene. The scene was always the same, either a temple or the portico of a palace in tragedy, or in comedy a private house or street in Athens, but the spectacular effect was enhanced by the situation, for before and beneath the audience Mount Hymettus was visible, sloping down to the sea, where in the distance the white sails of the passing ships gleamed in the sun. No curtain was used, except in a few tragedies, such as the *Ajax*, where the curtain was drawn up to conceal a change of background. The intervals were filled by the choral songs, which divided the tragedy into acts. It must always be remembered that the theatre was for religious instruction rather than pastime; it was a sacred place. The seat of honour was given to the priest of Dionysus, and the best places on either side belonged to priests and magistrates. Tragedy and comedy alike were regarded as public worship.

*Dramatic Competitions.*—These theatrical representations, which were one of the chief attractions of the festivals of Dionysus at Athens, gave rise to eager competition. Each competitor presented himself with four plays, a tetralogy as it was called, three tragedies on subjects connected together, frequently taken from the same legend, and lastly a satyr-drama, in which, to judge from the *Cyclops* of Euripides, the single specimen we possess, there was a great deal of rough buffoonery. Æschylus first competed with a

tetralogy, Sophocles began the custom of competing with a single tragedy. "A poet who wished to bring out a tragedy applied to the Archon Basileus, who managed the festival, for a chorus." He had then to train the chorus and get the actors. Wealthy citizens paid for the dresses and training of the chorus, and the actors, after the early days of tragic art, were paid by the State. The women's parts were acted by men.

*Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides; Brilliancy of Greek Literature in the Time of Pericles.*—Æschylus is admittedly the father of Greek tragedy. Born at Eleusis, in Attica (525 B.C.), poet and soldier, tried in combat with the Persian invaders at Marathon, at Salamis, at Plataea, as well as in the dramatic competitions, Æschylus was not only the tragic poet of Athens but of all Greece. Of his seventy tragedies we possess only seven. The *Persæ* (472 B.C.), a triumphal chant in dramatic form, celebrates the victory of Hellas over the Eastern swarms; the *Seven against Thebes* shows the curse working on the house of Œdipus, and, like the *Persæ*, is full of martial fervour; in the *Prometheus Bound* the sublime defiance of an unconquered benefactor of man, steadfast against all the power of Zeus, is represented with marvellous power. The supreme work of Æschylus is the *Oresteia*, the trilogy formed by the *Agamemnon*, the *Choëphori*, and the *Eumenides*. In the first play Agamemnon is murdered by Clytemnestra after his return from Troy; in the *Choëphori*, so called from Electra, Agamemnon's daughter and her handmaids, who bring offerings to the monarch's grave, Orestes slays Clytemnestra and her partner in crime, Ægisthus; in the *Eumenides* (the euphemistic title of the *Furies*), Orestes is arraigned by the *Furies* for the murder of his mother, tried before a court of Athenians, the *Areopagus*, called and presided over by Athena, defended by Apollo, and acquitted by Athena's casting vote. The teaching of Æschylus is essentially moral and religious. He vindicates the law of righteousness as the supreme law, and shows how the gods teach that suffering is the necessary consequence of sin.

Amongst the boy choros who celebrated the victory of Salamis was the youthful Sophocles, then fifteen years of age, destined



afterwards to become the rival of Æschylus. The same year saw the birth of Euripides, who continued the work of the creators and greatest masters of the Greek drama. When twenty-seven years of age Sophocles competed with a tragedy against Æschylus, and the votes being equal, gained by the decision of Cimon and the other nine generals just returned from their victories in Thrace.

In 440 B.C. Sophocles was appointed one of the ten generals who, in company with Pericles, were sent to repress the revolt of Samos. This was immediately after his success with the *Antigone*, and shows in what honour a great poet was held by his countrymen at Athens. He lived through the age of Pericles, and "died well, having suffered no evil," 405 B.C., before the greatness of Athens was ended at the battle of Ægospotami. Thus the plays of Sophocles interpret for us, in a unique way, the intellectual and moral life of the great age of Athens. The spacious music of Æschylus has something Hebraic in its grandeur; Euripides has much of the pathos and romance of modern times; but Sophocles is essentially Greek, representing the Greek genius at its best period and in its greatest purity.



The Chorus, Tragedy.

Sophocles won the first prize with his tragedies twenty times. He was the favourite of the Athenians, and yet his *Œdipus the King* only obtained a second prize. He composed about one hundred plays; of these only seven remain to us, but they are amply sufficient to justify his place of chief tragic poet in the great age of Athens. *Œdipus the King*, the supreme tragedy of all those we possess in the Greek language, is a masterpiece of perfect construction as well as of knowledge of human nature. Not a touch is given to brilliant details in themselves, but all go to build up the beauty and significance of the tragedy as a whole. The horror of the terrible secret makes more wonderful the symmetry and plastic perfection of the work, which, like a temple or group of sculpture, is intended to be viewed in its entirety and thus to produce the designed effect. *Œdipus at Colonus* continues the subject, and shows the old blind king submissive now to the gods, and brings him to peace and pardon and a quiet exit from the earth. The *Antigone* shows the noble character that can spring even from such a house as the house of Œdipus. It celebrates the choice of a self-sacrificing woman to keep the gods' unwritten law and give the last honours to her brother's body at any cost. The *Philoctetes* brings out the victory of a generous nature over personal ambition, and over the clever persuasions of an unprincipled opportunist, in the refusal of Neoptolemus to steal the bow of Philoctetes, to which he had been urged by Odysseus. The *Ajax*, with its study of the bitterness of the consequences of lost honour to a rough but large-hearted man, and the *Trachiniae*, so called for its chorus of Trachinian women, with its story of the death of Hercules by the poisoned robe unwittingly sent by Deianira, complete the seven tragedies that still remain from the life-work of Sophocles.

Euripides, born at Salamis 480 B.C., died in 407, represents a new order of ideas and art. Euripides was a great master of the emotions and of the picturesque. He alone of the Greeks, Aristophanes excepted, entered the happy fairyland of fancy. Euripides, however, depended on brilliancy and power of details, and did not make his plays perfect in their entirety, like the plays of Sophocles. Ideal beauty is sacrificed to popular, and

what we might almost call sensational, effect. Euripides was influenced by the speculations of philosophy, especially by Anaxagoras, but though leaning to Pantheism he had a high conception of the divine, and was very far indeed from being what Aristophanes paints him. Euripides has been called distinctively the "human." "Euripides, indeed," says a great classical scholar,\* "is human, but Sophocles is more human; Sophocles is so in the only way in which a Greek could be so by being more Greek. In Sophocles, as in a great sculptor, a thousand fine touches go to the delineation of the primary emotions. Sophocles is the purest type of the Greek intellect at its best; Euripides is a very different thing—a highly-gifted son of his day."

*Comedy; Aristophanes.*—Comedy (the song of the village) came from the same source as tragedy, the worship of Dionysus, but its development was slow. In the worship of Dionysus mysterious awe and broad jests were often mingled. Comedy was later in development than tragedy, and like tragedy was first taken up by the Dorians, who developed the dialogue of comic chorus and actor into a short farce. The broad fun of the Megarian farce issued in the artistic construction of Attic comedy, in which Cratinus (448 B.C.) is the first notable name. Eupolis deserves mention, but Aristophanes (born somewhere about 448 B.C.) is the one really great comic author. It is almost impossible for us, with our modern ideas, to imagine the effect produced by these comedies accompanied by choruses with artistic disguises and fairy transformations. The chorus in the *Wasps* for instance was got up to look exactly like wasps, and in the *Birds* to look like birds in many and varied kinds of plumage. At an epoch when there was no public press the comedies of Aristophanes supplied the place of pamphlets or newspapers by their extraordinary boldness and freedom of political and personal criticism.

The great period of Greek comedy began and ended with Aristophanes, its one author. The comedy of Aristophanes was a public criticism on the life of Athens, political, social, and private, and the satire was as free as it was personal. At the festival of

\* Jebb, "Attic Orators," vol. i.

Dionysus the licence of the carnival was permitted, and the Athenians enjoyed the utmost audacity of satire when directed by the genius of the great writer of comedy. And Aristophanes was not only a satirist, he was also a great poet. The extravagance of his fancy, the keenness of his satire, and the fineness of his wit are varied by bursts of lyric beauty, of sweetness and sublimity not to be excelled. And so, though his satire is often unjustly severe, his plays always contain much that is rare and delightful. After Aristophanes Comedy left political life for domestic, and rapidly declined. Menander is the most considerable figure of the writers of the later domestic comedy.

*Prose Writing.*—In Greece prose literature did not begin till poetry had reached its maturity. Poetry always precedes prose in order of development, but prose was unusually late in Greece owing to the great influence of epic poetry as a chronicle of the past and to the power of the various forms of elegiac and iambic verse to express the minds of thoughtful men. Till the Persian wars, moreover, the Greeks were divided into a number of small states without any common national interest.

*History: Herodotus.*—The earliest Greek prose is Ionian, and is probably that in which Pherecydes of Syros (550 B.C.) wrote his speculations on theology. About the end of the sixth century the Ionian narrators in prose *logographi* began to write, but they were mere compilers of myths, legends, and geography, with descriptions of foreign lands. Such were Hecataeus, of Miletus (500 B.C.), and Hellanicus, of Mitylene (450 B.C.).

History really came into being in the fifth century with Herodotus.\* Profoundly religious, convinced of the divine intervention

\* Herodotus, born at Halicarnassus, in Caria, in 484, passed the early half of his life in travelling. A Persian subject and a Greek citizen, he visited Assyria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, travelling from Babylon to South Italy, and from the first cataract of the Nile to the northern shores of the Black Sea. He came to Athens 446 B.C., and found Athenian literature and art at their zenith under Pericles. Admitted into a society whose equal has never yet been seen, Herodotus became a close friend of Sophocles, and in 443 B.C. went to Thurii, a colony of Athens, near Sybaris, in South Italy. In 432 he was again at Athens, for he saw the Propylæa that year completed. He died at Thurii between 428 and 405 B.C.

in human affairs, Herodotus saw the law of heaven vindicating itself in all the conflicts and revolutions of states and cities. He writes from a religious standpoint, and tracing out the course of events shows the ruin of states to be the result of wrongdoing. The great struggle between Greek and Persian is the central subject of his history. In the first half he traces the rise of the power of Persia; in the latter part he narrates the invasion of Greece. Herodotus was the first to deal with large bodies of facts, and to bring them into symmetrical arrangement in subordination to one central purpose. He was, in fact, the first Greek mind that worked in prose with freedom and power.

We hardly know which to admire most, the art with which the different parts of this great work are arranged, or the variety of the numerous stories told in the most easy and charming style, and relieving with their brightness the seriousness which the struggles described and the great issues involved have given to the bulk of the history.

*Thucydides.\**—Thucydides, who was the founder of the philosophy of history, as Herodotus was the father of history, had gained a practical experience of men and affairs in public life. Having served as an Athenian general in the Peloponnesian war, he was able to judge accurately the causes and the course of it. History with Thucydides is no longer mere descriptive narrative, it is occupied with the causes of events and their lessons. In his account of the Peloponnesian War he is not satisfied merely to show that the quarrel rose immediately out of the affairs of Epidamnus and Coreyra, he traces back the source of the war to the general indignation throughout Hellas against the Athenians. "Some were longing to be delivered from them, others fearful of falling under their

\* Thucydides, born in Attica (471 B.C.), was probably grandson of the Thracian prince, Olorus, and son of Olorus, a citizen of Athens. Thus he belonged to the house of Cimon. He was charged with various expeditions in the Peloponnesian war, but in 424 B.C., having carelessly allowed the Spartan Brasidas to surprise Amphipolis, he was removed from his command, and retired to Thrace. He was not recalled until the end of the war. The exact date of his death is unknown, but it is supposed to have taken place about 396 B.C.

sway." "The feeling of mankind," he says, "was strongly on the side of the Lacedæmonians, for they professed to be the liberators of Hellas" (Thucyd., ii. 8).

The speeches are a special characteristic of Thucydides, and contain much of his most valuable thought. He does not lay claim to verbal accuracy. He says, "As for the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recall the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavoured, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said." His own criticism of his history is as just and discriminating as it is characteristic of the man. "Of the events of the war I have not ventured to speak from any chance information, nor according to any notion of my own. I have described nothing but what I either saw myself or learned from others, of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry." And again: "And very likely the strictly historical character of my narrative may be disappointing to the ear. But if he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied. My history is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten" (Thucyd., i. 22). Thucydides is also a master of stern pathos, seen throughout his history, and especially in his description of the defeat and destruction of the Sicilian expedition.

*Xenophon.*—The succession of historians was continued beyond the age of Pericles. After Thucydides comes Xenophon. Xenophon, born in Attica about 491, early became a disciple of Socrates, whose teaching formed the ruling principles of his life. In 401 B.C. Xenophon went to Sardis, and entered the service of Cyrus the Younger. He took part in the expedition of Cyrus to Babylon, and after the death of Cyrus at Cunaxa conducted the famous retreat of the ten thousand Greeks. The death of Socrates and the excesses

of the Athenian democracy determined him to join the Lacedæmonians, whose king, Agesilaus, was his friend. The historical works left by Xenophon are the "Anabasis," his masterpiece, an account of the expedition of the Ten Thousand; and a history of Greece, the "Hellenica," which continued the work of Thucydides, and was carried down to the battle of Mantinea. He also wrote the "Cyropædia," or education of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, an historical romance; and in his "Recollections of Socrates" he has left a valuable picture of the personality and a vindication of the character of his master. Xenophon also ranks as the earliest of the essay writers, and his essays on hunting, on horsemanship, on the Lacedæmonian polity are distinguished, like all his writings, by knowledge of the world, sound common sense, and a clear simplicity of style.\*

*The First Philosophers.*—Greek philosophy may be divided into three periods: the first reaching to the age of the Sophists, the second to the death of Aristotle, the third to the Christian era. The first philosophy was an attempt to trace out in thought the myths of creation furnished by Hesiod and others of the early poets. The first period, the pre-Socratic, dealt with the world as the object of inquiry, and the first question which presented itself for solution was the question, What is the original and permanent element which lies beneath the changing forms of things?

Thales, of Miletus (about 610—625), the father of the Ionic school of philosophy, first attempted an answer to this question, and reduced all natural agencies to one original element—water (moisture). Anaximenes (about 520—480 B.C.) took air instead of water as the one primal substance. Anaximander (610—547 B.C.) proposed infinite matter as the source of things; while Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ (500—427 B.C.) supposed a supreme intelligence or mind as the power that ordered and organized the original chaos. With these may be mentioned Democritus of Abdera (460—357 B.C.), who

\* We must also mention Ctesias of Cnidus amongst the Greek historians of the time; he was for a long time physician to the court of the King of Persia, Artaxerxes Mnemon. He wrote a great work on the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, of which only fragments remain.

explained creation by his celebrated atomic theory, according to which the atoms or elementary particles, infinite in number, moving in infinite space, form combinations, the cause of which is really left unexplored.

At Elea, on the south-west coast of Italy, another school (the Eleatic) arose, and in the person of Xenophanes, an exile of Colophon (about 530 B.C.), proposed a pantheistic solution. He taught that "The One is God." Parmenides (500 B.C.) put abstract being for the "God" of Xenophanes, and distinguished between the powers and the objects of sense and reason. Zeno (about 450 B.C.) brought the teaching of this school many steps towards its logical conclusions, the scepticism of the Sophists.

Heraclitus of Ephesus (500 B.C.), though an Ionian, stepped out far in advance of the Ionic school. He identified being with change. Rest is death. Heraclitus's guesses come wonderfully near to the truth. He is also the first to investigate man's inner nature by investigating himself.

Pythagoras, who flourished in the sixth century, founded a society to live according to certain social and political theories. Moral and physical self-control was a distinguishing characteristic of this part of his system. His speculative philosophy is known only in part. Numbers were in his view the causes of the being of things, not only the patterns of them. His doctrine of the transmigration of souls has not been satisfactorily connected with what we know of his speculative theories.

Speculation had thus left the problem of the relation of matter and spirit unsolved, and had resulted in the dualism of Anaxagoras, the materialism of Democritus, and the pantheism of Xenophanes.

The teaching of the Sophists was based on the hopelessness of finding the truth. Truth was regarded as subjective, and language was perfected and made precise by teachers who regarded words and not things as of supreme importance.

With Socrates (469—399 B.C.) philosophy turned to ethics as a subject of investigation. In turning the search for knowledge from external nature to the nature within us, to questions of conduct and life, Socrates became the father of a new and higher philosophy.



Socrates was the son of a sculptor at Athens, and himself practised the art of sculpture. In middle age, and till his death, at the age of seventy, we find him teaching, as a heaven-ordained duty, the youths and men of Athens. And teaching in the true sense, not cramming his disciples with facts, but showing them how to think, to inquire, and to know. He did not set up a school or deliver set lectures, but talked with all comers in the gymnasium, the market-place, and the workshop, discussing and investigating the questions which arise from the study of our own nature. By denouncing false knowledge and appearance of knowledge he prepared the way for the true. To Socrates, as has been said by Aristotle, are to be attributed inductive reasoning and general definition. Socrates changed the method of philosophy, while he made it fruitful by putting the study of ethics in the place of the study of physics. His aim was to establish the sovereignty of virtue. Vice, in his system, is ignorance, and knowledge leads necessarily to virtue. The existence of a universal law of right and wrong, and the connection of philosophy with life, are salient characteristics of the teaching of Socrates. Socrates did not write; he contented himself with influencing others, with helping them, as he himself used to say, to give birth to thought. His plan is the basis of all true systems of education.

*Plato.*—The mantle of Socrates fell on Plato (480—347 B.C.). Plato's teaching cannot be reduced to a system. He was as many-sided as his master. He possessed a twofold power—the destructive and unequalled dialectic by which he refuted the fallacies of the Sophists on the uncertainty of knowledge and right, and a shaping spirit of imagination by which he endeavoured to pass from appearance to reality and gain an approach to the eternal.

The doctrines of Ideas and Recollection are attempts of the imagination to supplement the reason and solve difficulties which had proved insoluble by logical treatment. Plato's doctrine of Ideas is an answer to the question, How are we to be certain that it is possible to see the real truth? All things in the world are mere copies of their perfect archetypes or originals above, and they could give us no notion of these archetypes had not our spirits.

before coming into the body, been in the presence of those perfect ideas or forms, so that even a poor copy serves to remind the spirit of what it saw in the previous state of existence. This is the doctrine of Recollection (*ανάμνησις*). The spirit naturally loves these perfect ideas or forms of goodness, beauty, and truth, and this love may be extinguished by neglect or revived and developed by education, the importance of which in the Platonic state is obvious. The myths or stories of Plato come in always just where science fails; they contain some of his finest passages and some of his boldest efforts to penetrate into the unseen and win the secrets of the world that lies beyond the range of the senses. Among the questions faced are the relations of the human mind to truth (*Phæd.* 246—9), the pre-existence and immortality of the soul (*Meno.* 81—8, *Phæd.* 110—12, *Tim.* 41), the state of future retribution (*Gorg.* 528—5, *Rep.* x. 614—6), the revolutions of the world (*Polit.* 269).

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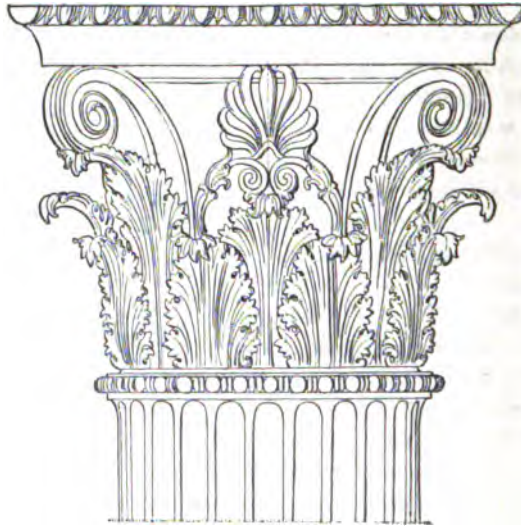
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surrounded the sacred statues, and which were purely Hellenic in conception and execution. Every part of the Greek temple served the common end without being anything of itself. It embodied the sacred significance of measure and law. The first temples were of wood, but that material was soon exchanged for stone, the form of building being, however, preserved. Rich colouring, carving, and gilding were employed. The immediate connection between the temple architecture and the worship of Apollo is plain. Apollo



Corinthian Capital.

himself is named as the divine architect in the foundation of his sanctuaries. The development and spread of the earliest, the Doric, architecture is connected with the sanctuary from which the foundation of the Dorian states began. In contrast to the Doric architecture, which was limited against change and development by priestly ordinances, arose the Ionic, in which there was free and unrestricted power of development.



There were three styles or orders of architecture : the Doric order, the most simple, the most chaste and severe ; the Ionic order, which was more ornate ; the Corinthian order, which was still more ornate, and belongs to the days of Roman dominion. These three orders are distinguished by the details of their columns and entablature. The capitals of the columns of the oldest, the Doric, order were simple ; those of the Ionic and Corinthian orders were richly ornamented. The columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders were longer in proportion to their thickness than the Doric. The Doric order is distinguished by the austere and simple capital, and the shaft rising without a base directly from the pavement. The shaft was fluted, and was in length between five and six times its diameter at the base ; above the frieze projected a cornice with a simple outline, which supported the flat and usually sculptured pediment.\* This severe simplicity gave a character of grandeur to the Doric order.

As early as the sixth century the temples of the gods in Hellas were numerous and magnificent. They consisted generally of three parts—the vestibule, *pronaos*, the *naos*, the temple proper, in which stood the statue of the god, and the *opisthodomos*, or back building, where was the temple treasury. The most celebrated of the early temples were the temple of Artemis at Ephesus and the temple of

\* Such an edifice consisted of several parts, of which it is well to know the names. The columns (originally vertical beams of wood), supported the long cross beams that formed the roof. The column ended in a capital, which supported the transverse beam or architrave. Above the architrave another parallel beam was placed; this was the cornice, which supported the pediment. A space for ornament was left between the architrave and the cornice, and was called the frieze. The projecting portions of the frieze, which represent the extremities of the cross beams, were shown in Doric architecture, and were called the triglyphs, being ornamented with grooves, and the intervals between the beams were named metopes, and were covered with slabs ornamented with figures in high relief. The architrave, frieze, and cornice together were called the entablature. In the Ionic and Corinthian orders the ends of the cross beams were concealed, and the frieze was a flat surface, which was commonly ornamented with figures. A circuit of columns was called a peristyle, and the largest temples were *hypæthral*, that is they enclosed a space like an atrium open to the sky.

Hera at Samos. The material employed at Ephesus was white marble, the order of building Ionic, the temple was 425 feet in length and 220 in breadth, with 127 columns 60 feet in height. It was begun 600 B.C. That of Hera at Samos was originally of Doric architecture, and was also of great size. For the temple at Delphi, rebuilt soon after 548 B.C., the contract was £115,000. It was of the Doric order, and was built regardless of expense by the contractors, the Alcmaeonidæ. About the same time the temple of the Olympian Zeus, at Athens, was begun by Pisistratus. Of existing remains of temples the most perfect are those at Pæstum, a colony of Sybaris, where the larger of the two temples is a massive edifice in simple Doric style, 195 feet long by 75 feet wide.

*The Monuments; the Parthenon; the Propylæa.*—The great age of Athens, the age of Pericles, saw architecture, as well as the other arts, reach its zenith. It was under Cimon, however, that the small Ionic temple of Niké apteros and the Theseum, a fine building of the Doric order still nearly perfect, the first public works built after the Persian wars, were commenced and completed. The Theseum was probably completed 465 B.C., and was situated to the north of the Areopagus. It was on the Acropolis, however, that the architectural glory of Athens was centred. The hill had a single approach by a flight of marble steps 70 feet wide, at the top of which stood the Propylæa, a magnificent vestibule of Pentelic marble covering the whole western end of the Acropolis, with a frontage of 168 feet. Mnesicles was the architect, and the cost was about £460,000. Passing through the Propylæa the visitor came in sight of the Parthenon, the supreme work of Greek architecture. The Parthenon was a festive edifice and treasure-house, erected in place of the ancient Hecatompædon, on the highest point of the Acropolis. The design of Ictinus, the chief architect, seconded by Callicrates, was sanctioned by Phidias and Pericles. The material was marble from Pentelicus and the architecture Doric. The dimensions were not colossal. The length was 226 feet, the breadth 100 feet; the height to the apex of the pediment was 65 feet. It was, however, in the plastic embellishments of the building by the art of Phidias that the supreme effect was gained. Forty colossal figures and 4,000 square

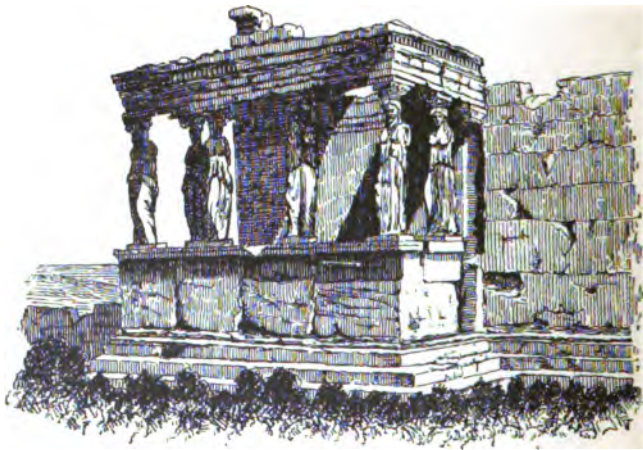
feet of high and low relief were inspired by his genius when they did not actually proceed from his chisel. The triangular area of the spaces formed by the oblique ledges of the roof on the east and west fronts of the building was filled with colossal sculptures: on the east the assembly of the Olympian gods with Athene in their midst beside her father Zeus; on the west Athene with her following of Attic divinities by the side of Poseidon, who is followed by



The Parthenon.

the dæmons of the sea. The contest is for the prize of Athens, and the more savage god has to give way. The metopes between the triglyph blocks were adorned with sculptures—ninety-two tablets, each 4 feet 3 inches square, filled with sculptures in high relief, generally groups of combatants—Athene fighting against the Gigantes, Theseus against the Amazons and Centaurs; order and law against rude strength and violence. Lastly, a frieze within the circuit of

columns passed along the outer walls of the cella, a band 3 feet 4 inches high and 528 feet long, containing a representation in low relief of the Panathenæan festive procession. In the metopes the gymnastic figures rise in vigorous high relief; in the frieze the figures project but slightly from the surface, and the eye glances along them as along a drawing. A number of slabs from the frieze and metopes and colossal fragments from the pediments, are in the British Museum. The remaining important building on



Caryatides, Temple of Pandrosos.

the Acropolis was the Erechtheum, or temple of Erechtheus, a masterpiece of Ionic architecture, which was not commenced before the Parthenon was completed, and which was not completed itself till 893 B.C. Outside Athens the most celebrated temples were that to Zeus at Olympia, where was the masterpiece of Phidias, the Olympian Zeus, and the temple of Apollo at Phigalea, built by Ictinus, both works of the Doric order.

*Sculpture: Phidias.*—Among the Greeks, sculpture, like architecture, first developed its powers in the service of religion. The

earliest figure representations of the gods had no claim to resemblance to their originals, but were mere blocks of stone or of wood supposed to have been obtained and handed down miraculously.

The plastic impulse among the Greeks was at first exercised only on the sacred utensils and bronzes—the tables, vessels, tripods, lamps, &c., for the temple. Thus it has been well said by Curtius the whole tectonic art of the Greeks is consecrated by a higher purpose and stamped by the impress of a moral dignity that is distinctively Hellenic. As the new houses of religion, the temples, arose, figures were required for them. The first sculptors carved these figures in wood. The religious purpose influenced Greek sculpture long after the priestly influence had declined. Excessively free movement appeared to be a violation of religious reverence, and no divine personage might be represented in a state of agitation or in a too realistic form. Sculpture, too, was largely influenced by the ordinance issued from the sanctuaries of the national gods that victors in the games might be honoured with statues in the courts of the temples. The first statues of the kind were dedicated at Olympia in the time of the Pisistratidæ. Triple victors might be represented life-size and the likeness completely true to the original. The result of a perfect gymnastic training was a work of art which the Hellenes accomplished in themselves; and when one out of a number of youthful rivals had successfully solved this task, the impression of the living work of art was preserved by sculpture; and thus round the habitations of the gods, the centres of the nation, bands of chosen youths were preserved in imperishable forms to call on future generations to imitate their achievements. In this department of sculpture fidelity to the model was required, to represent the perfect form of the youthful victor; and since the youth of Hellas entered on the contests naked, art represented the naked figure, glorifying the body as the most perfect and noble object in visible creation.

Thus Greek art learned reverence from its representations of the gods and fidelity to nature from its representations of the victors at the public games. Often wood, stone, and bronze were used

in representation of the figure. In Crete the first school of artists arose. From Crete the plastic art passed to Peloponnesus. In Chios and Samos, long before the growth of the Dædalic art of stonemasonry, the treatment of bronze had been discovered and freely developed.

In Chios, at the beginning of the seventh century, the art of soldering pieces of bronze together was discovered by Glaucus. The Samians, improving upon the idea of Glaucus, discovered the art of founding in bronze. With this invention the plastic impulse of the Hellenes was set free; the rapid and inexpensive mode of procedure made it possible to multiply a successful work of art, and an extensive trade in bronze statuary set in. The Samian art was developed in connection with the sanctuary of the Samian Hera and spread thence to distant lands. The continual communication between the different cities of Hellas made all local progress in art rapidly become national. Yet though progress had begun in the twentieth Olympiad, the Hellenes took thirty Olympiads to reach command over their materials. The steps of this progress were seen in the temples, which were practically art-museums in which objects which represented various periods of art were preserved.

Up to the time of the Persian war Attic sculptors, though they had produced works distinguished by religious earnestness and severity of style, had remained stiff and without freedom or life in their representations.

In the Peloponnesus, sculpture, aided by the art of bronze-founding, had flourished freely, and there were schools of art of high repute in the Greek world at Sicyon, Ægina, and Argos. At Ægina Onatas was the first artist to attain general Hellenic fame, producing not only statues of the gods for the Pergamians and Phigalians, but historical groups in bronze for the cities of Achaia and for Tarentum. A contemporary of Onatas, Ageladas, head of the great art school at Argos, where bronze was the material chiefly used, was famous for power in technical execution and composition, sufficient to attract to his school artists from all quarters. Three of the greatest artists of antiquity, Myron, Polyclethus, and Phidias, were among

his pupils. Extraordinary dramatic power and versatility distinguished Myron, a native of Eleuthera, where Attica borders on Bœotia. His perfect mastery over his materials is seen in the figure of Discobolus, bent towards the ground in a position that can be only momentary.

Polycletus came from Sicyon to the school at Argos. His aim was perfect beauty, and his work was distinguished by attitudes of repose and dignified simplicity. His chief work was a chryselephantine statue of Hera.

Phidias (born 490 B.C.), the son of Charmides, an Athenian, was a few years the senior of Sophocles. He belonged to an artistic family, and was himself at first a painter. While still young he went to Argos and studied in the studio of Ageladas. After his return he soon became known as one of the leading artists in Athens, and was employed on the group in bronze executed for Delphi in honour of the victors of Marathon.

At this time also the colossal Athene Promachos (the defender) issued from the studio of Phidias. This was a bronze statue which with its pedestal stood some seventy feet in height, and thus towering above the Parthenon opposite the Propylæa, the point of the spear and the helmet crest were visible to ships approaching Athens when off Sunium.

Phidias, who was not only a great artist but a man of culture and thought, entered fully into the ideas of Pericles, and being as supreme in art as Pericles was in politics, was without jealousy allowed by the other artists to assign to them their work in the accomplishment of the vast schemes which the great artist and the great politician had formed together. The Hellenic confederation against Persia had just taught national unity. This confederation was to be revived as a national union to restore the sanctuaries destroyed in the war. A national congress at Athens was proposed, and all free states invited. This was probably immediately after the Thirty Years' Peace. The larger states, especially Sparta, set themselves against the proposal, and the scheme of national union in works of peace came to an end. Athens then began spending her resources, and especially the money in the treasury,

on works on a magnificent scale, of which those described under the head of architecture were the chief. To these may be added the sculptures of Phidias himself, the marble statue of the goddess Nemesis, at Rhamnus, the great statue of Athene Parthenos in the Parthenon, a work in gold and ivory of colossal size (nearly forty feet) and of great magnificence, precious stones being used for the eyes, the cheeks and hair coloured, and no less than forty-four talents of gold employed on the statue. In the left hand was a spear, and in the right an image of Victory four cubits high. The Parthenos was first seen to the assembled people through the great portal of the cella on the grandest celebration of the Panathenæa ever held at Athens, 488 B.C.

With the death of Pericles the great age of Greek art creation passed away. The lofty calm of Phidias was changed for vehemence of movement and boldness of treatment. This tendency was seen in the work of Callimachus, a contemporary of Ictinus, who strove, before all, after novelty. He invented the stone-drill, by which a hitherto unknown delicacy of execution was added to the treatment of marble, and he also introduced the rich ornamentation of the Corinthian capital. Alcamenes kept alive for awhile the school of Phidias, but the tide of artistic power was out of Athens, not in it. Scopas (392—348 B.C.), one of the Parian family of artists settled at Athens, was the supreme genius in the new Attic school. His work in marble was full of movement and life. Aphrodite was transformed from the dignity of the old draped type to the beauty of perfect and unveiled form. The goddess became a woman.

Praxiteles (368—336 B.C.), an Athenian, at any rate by residence, worked chiefly in marble, and was at his best in his heads, in which he displayed a mastery of the mysterious action and reaction of body and soul. His Eros was represented as a boy growing up lost in the thoughts that, not yet understood, pass through his soul. The group of Niobe was considered the finest work of this school, though its authorship was somewhat uncertain.

Leochares worked by the side of Scopas and Praxiteles, and in his



celebrated Ganymede, the boy is borne aloft by the eagle, not as a captive but as one eagerly striving heavenwards. At this period likenesses of contemporaries began to be executed for their friends. Leochares wrought a statue of Isocrates, and Silinion a figure of Plato in a familiar attitude—a work taken from life, and valued as a memorial of their master by Plato's pupils. The work of Attic sculptors was sought in all regions, at Syracuse and at Halicarnassus, where Mausolus was a liberal patron of art.

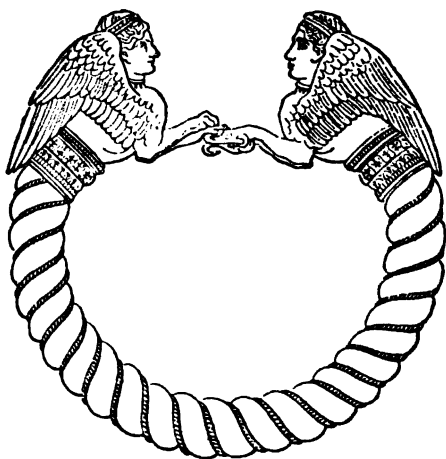
*Painting: Polygnotus, Zeuxis.*—More than one architect was a sculptor, and more than one sculptor was a painter. The Greeks enhanced the beauty of their temples and of their statues by colour. For a long time painting was merely decorative, being confined to outlines filled up with colours. It took a more important rank with Polygnotus of Thasos; a contemporary of Phidias, who invented the principal colours and gave beauty and life to his figures. He, as it were, transported by the skill of his brush the noble lines of statuary to the walls of the temples and edifices. Like the sculptors, he was inspired by poetry and he aimed at the ideal. Aristotle said later to his disciples: "Pass before the painters, who depict men as they are; stop before Polygnotus, who makes them more beautiful than nature has done." He decorated many temples, and drew inspiration from patriotism as well as from religion. He decorated the Theseum, and filled the magnificent Pœkilê Stoa, or Painted Porch, with the battle of the Amazons, with the taking of Troy, and the battle of Marathon, victories of Greece in the struggle with Asia. He also decorated the sacred chamber at the entrance to the Acropolis afterwards known as the Picture Gallery (Pinacotheca).

Polygnotus was a man of grand ideas and lofty purpose. He not only achieved great works, his school at Athens influenced all spheres of Attic art. From his time we find a better style of vase painting, a notable advance in beauty of form and power of invention and composition. Polygnotus painted gratuitously the great frescoes which raised the Attic school of painting to be esteemed the first in Hellas. We must join to his name that of

Panæanos, brother of Phidias, who aided Polygnotus in the vast compositions of the Pœkilê, executing independently the picture of the battle of Marathon.

Apollodorus of Athens was the first to give new charm to his pictures by means of light and shade, and by remarkable effects of colour.

Zeuxis (455 B.C.) of Heraclea and Parrhasius (420 B.C.) of Ephesus were also painters of the highest rank. The former, who acquired great wealth by his art, preferred to paint single figures,



Gold Bracelet.

of which his celebrated painting of Helen, painted for the city of Croton, in Magna Græcia, was an example.

Parrhasius, like Zeuxis, pursued his art chiefly at Athens, and with like power and like success. An anecdote, which is perhaps only a fable, indicates at least the mastery of colour and realistic power ascribed to the two artists, of whom it is related that they had each painted a picture, Zeuxis a bunch of grapes on which the birds came to feed, so perfect was the representation, Parrhasius a curtain which Zeuxis himself supposed to be merely a curtain hung

across the picture, and asked his rival to raise, thus proving the realism of Parrhasius to be superior to his own.

The school of Zeuxis and Parrhasius was succeeded by the school of Sicyon, of which Eupompus was the founder. His pupil, Pamphilus, was head of a yet more celebrated academy of painters, of whom Apelles was the chief. Apelles was an Ionian of Cos, and studied both at Amphipolis under Pamphilus and at Sicyon. He was the court painter to Alexander the Great, and was alone allowed to paint Alexander's portrait. He excelled in single figures. His most celebrated picture was the Aphrodite Anadyomene, representing the goddess of love rising from the sea, painted for the temple of Æsculapius at Cos. Apelles was by general admission the greatest painter of the old world.

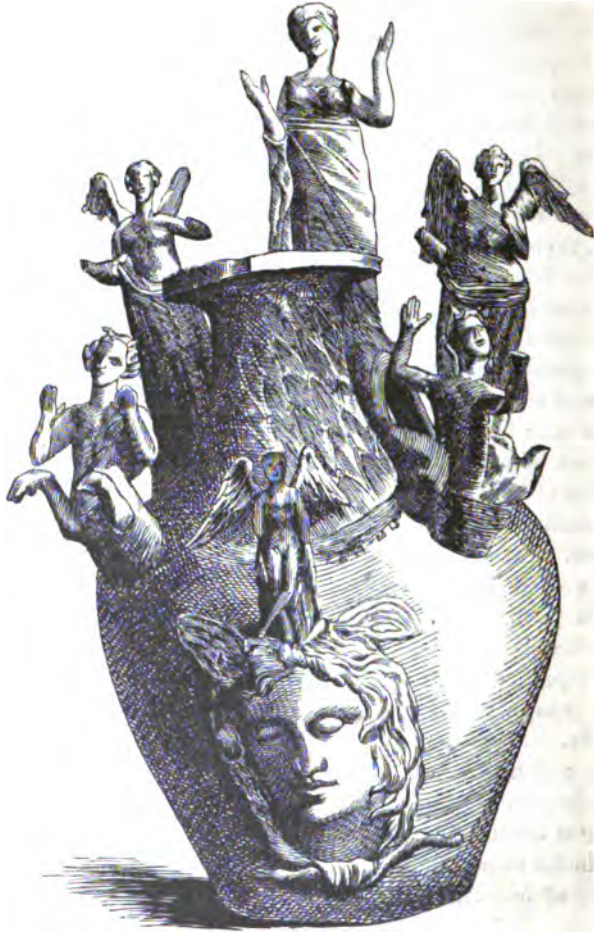
*Artistic Industry ; Ceramics.*—The Greeks also knew how to engrave gems. Pyrgoteles, the most celebrated of the gem engravers, was seal engraver to Alexander the Great, and divided the royal favour with Lysippus and Apelles. We have only to examine the galleries of the Louvre Museum to realise the richness of the remains of this branch of art.

Ceramics\* were particularly benefited by the artistic taste of the Greeks. Pottery was first used at a very early date, for Homer speaks of it with praise, but it was very coarse, made of opaque porous paste. Delicate unglazed earthenware was employed for domestic use, the amphoræ, two-handled vessels which were often of enormous size, held the wine and oil. The glazed earthenware was carefully made, and ornamented with colours and designs. A great number of Greek vases have been found in Italy, and they have been confused with Etruscan ones. Those most frequently found have red paintings, which produce an harmonious effect. Ceramic art followed the progress of painting, and in the same way passed from mythological subjects to fanciful scenes of familiar life, from the gods and heroes to the life of the day.

*Music.*—As we have said when speaking of their literature, the

\* The whole of one quarter of Athens was occupied by the makers of pottery, and was called the Ceramicus.

Greeks knew how to sing as soon as they knew how to speak. All



Greek Vase from Apulia. (In the Louvre.)

the ancient philosophers agree in making music a part of the general

system of education, not as an amusement but, says Aristotle,\* as a study "essentially tending towards virtue."

In Lacedemonia all the children learned music of the Dorian type, grand and severe; all their exercises were conducted to the sound of the flute, and the warriors advancing to battle always marched to the sound of that instrument. The Dorian music, as we have said, was the most serious, the Lydian the most piercing; the Phrygian was between the other two. The Æolian, which was at



Successful Cithara-player.

an interval of half a tone between the Dorian and Phrygian, was also used. As long as the voice accompanied the instruments they remained simple. The cithara had at the earliest date four strings. Terpander added three more and formed the lyre. Timotheus increased the number of strings probably to eleven.

The changes effected by Timotheus (446—857 B.C.) of Miletus

\* Aristotle, "Politics," Book VIII.

accompanied an equally serious change in the influence of music. It lost all serious and high purpose, and its only object became to give pleasure. This revolution in music took place about the time of Plato; and Euripides, hearing Timotheus hissed when he attempted to play his new music in the theatre at Athens, predicted that he would prove the chief delight of the stage. There were then, as well as now, keen discussions between the partisans of the old and new music; the latter was declared immoral and likely to corrupt the customs of the people. But this meretricious development accompanied a similar development in sculpture and in literature, and was the consequence of the decadence of the State rather than the cause.

*General Character of Greek Literature and Art.*—The Greeks had an unrivalled sense of the fitness of things. *Sophrosyne*—the wise moderation of self—was in their view the highest virtue. This view their early physical education, this their public games helped to form. The time spent in the gymnasia developed self-control in developing a healthy body and a sound mind. A deep sense of the importance of self-control pervades the best literature of Greece until the decadence set in. Self-control became a law of the Greek nature, and all excess in art or literature, however magnificent, was felt to be an offence against an unwritten but unchanging and binding code.

“In its poets and orators,” says Hegel in his “*Aesthetik*,” part iii., sec. 2, chap. 1, “in its historians and philosophers, Greece cannot be conceived from a central point unless one brings as a key to the understanding of it an insight into the ideal forms of sculpture, and regards the images of statesmen and philosophers as well as epic and dramatic heroes from the artistic point of view; for those who act, as well as those who create and think, have, in those beautiful days of Greece, this plastic character.

“They are great and free, and have grown up on the soil of their own individuality, creating themselves out of themselves, and moulding themselves to what they were willed to be. The age of Pericles was rich in such characters: Pericles himself, Phidias,

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Plato, above all Sophocles, Thucydides, also Xenophon and Socrates, each in his own order, without the perfection of one being diminished by that of the others. They are ideal artists of themselves, cast each in one flawless mould—works of art which stand before us as an immortal presentment of the gods."

## CHAPTER X.

### THE DIFFUSION OF GREEK GENIUS.

**SUMMARY :** Causes of the Political Decadence of Greece; the Peloponnesian War—Decadence of the Democracies; Corruption of Society—Bad Economic Organization—Rivalry between Sparta and Thebes; Exhaustion of Military Strength; the Mercenaries; Decline of Patriotism—Military Power of Macedonia; the Phalanx—Character of the Macedonian Dominion—Alexander; his Expedition into Asia; the King, Traveller, and Coloniser—Results of Alexander's Work—The Greek Kingdom of Egypt; the Ptolemies; Glory of Alexandria—Science and Literature at Alexandria—The Greco-Syrian Monarchy; Empire of the Seleucidæ—The Kingdom of Pergamus—Decadence of the Greco-Macedonian Kingdom—The Roman Conquest, 197-146 B.C.—Diffusion of Greek Genius through the West; Polybius, the Historian; Plutarch; Lucian—Universality of Greek Genius—Synoptic Table of the Development of Greek Civilization.

*Causes of the Political Decadence of Greece; the Peloponnesian War.*—Until the age of Pericles, either the external pressure of a common enemy, the great Asiatic despotism, had welded the Hellenes into one, or the bond of common religion and common literature and culture had drawn them together. But even in the life of Pericles, rivalries commenced to divide and weaken Hellas. The Ionians of Athens, who ruled over a confederation of four hundred cities, excited the jealousy of the Dorians of the Peloponnesus, who grouped themselves round Sparta. The two cities not only represented two branches of the same family, they also personified opposing governments—Sparta, the oligarchy, Athens, the democracy. They each endeavoured to promote the form of government they had adopted, and the Peloponnesian war (431—404 B.C.) was at the same time a war of peoples and of principles. It therefore extended to every city where the democratic and aristocratic



parties came into contact, and the smallest as well as the most important cities suffered in common from the shock of that great contest.

This great civil war, better known as the Peloponnesian war, was disgraced by merciless severity. The Greeks proved more cruel towards their fellow-citizens than towards the Persians. They mutually weakened each other, to the satisfaction of the great king, who devoted himself to maintaining the even balance of power between the two cities, Athens and Sparta, whose rivalry guaranteed his security.

After thus fighting, not without honour, during thirty years, Athens succumbed through her own errors. She had received a fatal blow to her maritime power in her adventurous expedition to Sicily, which ended in irremediable disaster. She had by her tyranny worn out her allies, who abandoned her when her rule, at first beneficial, became merely onerous. The Spartans, moreover, had learnt the art of navigation, and their fleet strengthened by ships from Corinth and Megara vanquished the Athenian. Lysander defeated Conon and caused the Long Walls, which joined the Piræus to Athens, to be destroyed. The Dorians insulted the conquered Ionians and replaced the Athenian democracy by the oligarchy of the Thirty Tyrants, thus revealing the real cause of the war by the use they made of their victory.

*Decadence of the Democracies; Corruption of Society.*—The Spartan success was therefore not only the victory of a city but also of a form of government, which consequently was imposed upon nearly every town in Hellas. The democratic governments had fallen into discredit by their caprices, their venality, and their corruption. In many places the public offices had been eagerly competed for because they afforded facility for realising a fortune. The Athenian citizens, being paid for their attendance at the public assemblies, did not trouble themselves to engage in any occupation. The power passed into the hands of demagogues, who flattered the people, and Cleon, the leather-seller against whom Aristophanes directed his satire, was not the worst of them.

Neither the bitter irony of Aristophanes nor the wise precepts

of Socrates had been effectual in arresting the corruption of manners, and such men as Plato and Xenophon found themselves obliged to live away from Athens.

*Bad Economic Organization.*—The vices of Greek society were rendered almost incurable through bad economic organization. Athens in her splendour only numbered fifteen or twenty thousand citizens, who were served by a vast multitude of slaves. The whole population, including slaves and resident aliens, was probably over half a million.

The handicrafts were chiefly worked by slaves, and the Athenians reserved only commerce, art, and politics for themselves. In spite of Solon's laws, idleness appeared dignified to most of them, and the Athenians lived on the obols that they received for attending the assemblies, and could not rise from poverty except through the public offices. Two opposing classes were thus formed, those who enjoyed great wealth and those who coveted it. This explains the frequent revolutions that characterize the history of the Greek cities, the exile of the rich, and the confiscation of their possessions.

*Rivalry between Sparta and Thebes; Exhaustion of Military Strength; the Mercenaries; Decline of Patriotism.*—The prevalent dissoluteness had even infected Sparta, whose citizens had forgotten the laws of Lycurgus, and there, as elsewhere, great wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few. The number of actual Spartans had been considerably diminished by their frequent wars, and a fresh conflict with their rising rival, Thebes, diminished them still more (880—862 B.C.).

In the Peloponnesian wars Thebes had fought against Athens, and had been repaid by the slavery that Sparta, after seizing by treachery her Acropolis, the Cadmea, had imposed upon her. Freed by two of her citizens, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, who deserve to be counted amongst the most illustrious of the Greeks, Thebes thought she could aspire to the first rank. Upheld by the diplomatic skill of Pelopidas and the military talents of Epaminondas, she maintained a successful struggle against Sparta, whose forces she defeated at Leuctra (371 B.C.); she dominated Thessaly

and entered into an alliance with the King of Persia. But her greatness rested upon two men, and perished with them. Thebes was incapable of ruling Greece when Sparta and Athens had each failed in turn.

The patriotism of the early ages had disappeared, weakened by corruption, destroyed by revolutions and internal divisions. Athens, indeed, admired her great orator, Demosthenes, and the citizens even roused themselves sufficiently to follow him to Chæronea. They were defeated, and with them the independence of Greece succumbed to the Macedonian power.

*Military Power of Macedonia ; the Phalanx.*—Three valleys converge towards the Ægean Sea, forming a semicircle surmounted by high mountains. The country is watered by three great rivers, the Haliacmon (Indji Karason), the Axios (Vardar), the Strymon (Struma). This was Macedonia, a fertile well-wooded territory, large enough to feed a numerous population, that physically dominated the north of Greece, and seemed by nature fitted to dominate it politically.

The Macedonians considered themselves a branch of the Hellenic family, and their kings claimed to be descended from one of the Heraclidæ. From an early date these princes were allies of Greece, and Archelaus (429—405 B.C.) amongst others attracted all the Grecian artists and authors, including Euripides, to his court. But for a long time the people remained in a state of semi-barbarism, wholly occupied with defending themselves against the attacks of Epirus, Illyria, and Thrace. Prolonged rivalries in the royal family perpetuated the anarchy and delayed the progress of the Macedonians, who, however, attained greatness under Philip (360—336 B.C.).

Philip had in his childhood been carried as a hostage to Thebes by Pelopidas, and had received a Greek education. He was able to make a close study of the decadence of the people, in the rivalry of the ambitious, the verbosity of the orators, the social hatreds. He comprehended the military weakness of cities that depended on hired mercenaries, and if he admired the sacred band of Thebans formed by Pelopidas, he fully realized the feeble

help a band of only three hundred men could give, though they were all picked soldiers.

Returning to Macedonia, first as regent, then as king in the place of his nephew, he devoted himself to forming in Macedonia the military organization for which the numbers and character of his abundant and vigorous population offered such ample materials. He surrounded himself with companions (*hetairoi*) chosen amongst the nobles in whom he trusted, and whom he thus retained under his personal influence; with spearmen (*doruphoroi*), who formed his body guard. He also created the phalanx, an immense body of sixteen lines, and forming a front of one thousand men. This front bristled with pikes, for the first six ranks were armed with a long pike. The true art of war commenced, and this superiority of military organization secured the empire of the East to Macedonia.

*Character of the Macedonian Dominion.*—The Macedonians first subjugated Greece; an imperceptible and unique conquest, we may almost say. In fact Philip conquered Greece by proclaiming himself a Greek, by interfering in that country for the protection of religion (the Sacred Wars), and by only asking for the honour of avenging the injuries sustained by the Greeks and of leading them against Persia. No sounder or finer diplomacy was ever employed to conceal a strength which might have been imposed with cruel force. Demosthenes, however, was not deceived. To the lasting honour of the great patriotic orator he denounced all Philip's deception, exposed his projects and pointed out to his fellow-citizens the abyss whither they were tending in their fancied security. But paid orators like Æschines were always lauding Philip's good intentions towards the Athenians. One virtuous citizen, Phocion, alarmed at the inequality between the strength of Athens and that of Philip, rose to advise peace and to frustrate the orations of Demosthenes. The latter was forced to use all his eloquence to induce the Athenians to remember their great reputation, and to show on the field of Chæronea that the descendants of the victors of Marathon, Salamis, and Platea could not be conquered without a struggle. But all was useless, Greece lost

her freedom. Macedonia pretended to preserve Greece, and left each city its own constitution, contenting herself with maintaining the oligarchic party, which was useful to her.

With the assistance of the Greeks and the advantage of Greek ideas, Philip renewed the old conflict with Asia. At a congress convened at Corinth he was appointed Generalissimo of Greece, and if death prevented him from undertaking the great expedition for which he had demanded contingents from all the Grecian cities, he left his preparations to one still better qualified to carry out his plans, his son Alexander.

*Alexander; his Expedition into Asia; the King, Traveller, and Colonizer.*—Alexander was even more Greek than Philip. A pupil of Aristotle, an admirer of Pindar, whose house at Thebes he spared when all others were levelled with the ground, an enthusiastic lover of Homer, whose works he always carried with him even during his invasion of Asia, he commenced his Asiatic expedition by a kind of pilgrimage to the ruins of Troy and the tomb of Achilles, whose exploits he hoped to rival. If he attempted to retaliate on the Persians for the invasion of Xerxes it was with very unequal means, for he had only thirty-five thousand men with him.

The East then was invaded by a European army scientifically trained and led, and we can understand the rapid collapse of the vast Persian empire, divided into provinces but partially united, and governed or rather despoiled by satraps each independent and jealous of the other. Alexander was victorious at Granicus, and sent three hundred suits of armour to the Athenians to be placed in Minerva's temple, with this inscription: "Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks, with the exception of the Lacedemonians, have consecrated these spoils from the barbarians who inhabit Asia. (May 333.)"

Threatenings of revolt made no difference in Alexander's arrangements; he prided himself on having profited by a Greek education. In the illness that endangered his life, after an imprudent bath in the Cydnus, he showed a greatness of soul worthy of a philosopher; and after his victory at Issus (333) his generosity

towards the family of Darius was a novelty in a country where the proscription of royal families was of ordinary occurrence. If Alexander was implacable against Tyre, it was not only because of the seven months' resistance that the city offered him, but also because in its destruction he gratified the hatred that had always existed between the Greeks and the Phœnicians.

Prepared by the Greek writers to admire the wonders of Egypt, Alexander appeared more as a liberator than a conqueror to the Egyptians. He freed them from the dread of further persecutions by the Persians, Zoroaster's fanatical disciples, and the Egyptian temples were again opened for the solemn march of the long religious processions. Lastly, Alexander founded, not far from the



Medallion of Alexander.

mouth of the Nile and near Lake Mareotis, a town which has retained his name and transmitted it to posterity—Alexandria, the greatest colonizing work of the world-travelling king.

His expedition had, indeed, more of the character of exploration than of war. He stayed in each city, studied its customs, and inquired into its creed and its laws, which he often abolished in order to establish more equitable ones. When a spot, by its advantageous position, appeared suitable for the foundation of an Alexandria, he commanded and it was built. Alexander travelled leisurely, pausing for hunting parties, horse races, wrestling, and other athletic contests.

By the side of his group of captains we find a large and distinguished group of poets, philosophers, and artists, such as the

painter Apolles, the sculptor Lysippus, and Pyrgoteles the engraver.

The conflagration of Persepolis, after the victory of Arbela, is no longer attributed to Alexander; his whole character is opposed to such stupid barbarism, and he admired and respected the Assyrian and Persian monuments quite as much as the Egyptian. His advance towards Eastern Asia and the sight of the savage countries that he passed through gave him still higher views of the importance of his mission. He had spent four years in destroying the Persian empire; he now passed six in travelling over the plateau of Iran, and conquering the countries up to the valley of the Indus and the whole of the Punjab as far as the Gharra.

It is not wonderful that his marvellous exploration and conquest of Asia mentally intoxicated Alexander, who ended by believing himself almost a god, or at all events by causing adoration to be paid himself as if divine. This was another result of his Greek education. Comparing himself to the deified heroes, he thought that he had fully merited divine honours and that he should be ranked with Hercules. The gross flattery of the parasites who attended Alexander's court seems to have increased his pride and his pretensions; and when his friend Clitus indulged in plain speech and unpalatable criticism, the king in a fit of drunken rage slew him. He repented bitterly of his hasty act; but this did not prevent his becoming more and more like an Eastern despot, till plots among his officers and mutiny among his men forced him to act once more with decision and promptitude. Not long afterwards Alexander, who, as was his custom, had drunk deep in the banquets that preceded the projected campaign in Arabia, was seized with fever, and died prematurely at the age of thirty-two years, an age when he might yet have reasonably formed vast projects for future realization.

*Results of Alexander's Work.*—The Macedonian conqueror had travelled over and awakened Asia; he wished to regenerate her materially and morally.

Lavishing the accumulated treasures of the Persian kings, he everywhere circulated an immense quantity of silver and gold that

for a long time had been unproductive. Through him Asia was opened to the influence of Europe. He excavated a port at Babylon and cleared the Tigris from the obstacles that hindered navigation. He sent an expedition along the coasts of Arabia to complete the valuable information collected by Nearchus, who had been sent from the mouth of the Indus to establish maritime communication between India and Persia.

He endeavoured to unite the vast empire he had founded by Hellenizing it. He set the example of intermarriages between Europeans and Asiatics by marrying Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius, and he also induced his officers and ten thousand of his men to take wives from among the women of the country. In his desire to amalgamate Europe with Asia he even admitted Asiatics into his army, and equipped and trained them like Macedonians. In short, he broke up the old Greek exclusiveness by his influence and example.

"Blending together as in a festal cup," says Plutarch, "laws, customs, races, and national affections, he taught men to consider the whole earth as their native land, all honest men as their family, and only the wicked as strangers."

Although his life was so short he had sufficiently advanced his work of fusion for its influence to remain after his death. The Greek language spread and was adopted all over western Asia, and Alexander's empire was divided into kingdoms, of which the most important imitated the Greeks in their habits and life. In short the powerful hand of Alexander sowed over rough and ignorant Asia the fertile seed of Grecian ideas and art. There was and has been no parallel work of civilization for the advantage of millions accomplished by one man over so vast a field in so short a time and with so much energy and method.

*The Greek Kingdom of Egypt; the Ptolemies; Glory of Alexandria.*—The soil of Egypt was the best prepared, and it was the shores of the Nile that responded to Alexander's sowing with the richest harvest. Without stifling the ancient Egyptian civilization, the Greek civilization developed easily under the intelligent administration of the Ptolemies, particularly of the three first.



The Ptolemies allowed the old Egyptian creed to exist, but made the worship of Serapis open to both Greeks and Egyptians. Alexandria was the capital, because Memphis and Thebes were too far inland. By its maritime situation the new city attracted all the commerce of the *Ægean* Sea, and even of the western basin of the Mediterranean, towards itself, and became the chief emporium of African and Asiatic merchandise. Ptolemy the First, a Macedonian friend of Alexander, built a tower on the island of Pharos, which was joined to the city by a mole, and on this tower lights were burnt to guide the mariners at night. Alexandria at the height of its splendour numbered nine hundred thousand inhabitants.

Ptolemy Soter wished that Alexandria should be an artistic and intellectual as well as a commercial capital. In the library of the Museum, or temple of the Muses, a sort of university, he collected more than seven hundred thousand manuscripts. The Museum was both a library and an educational establishment. The most famous men of letters and learning received in the Museum the most ample hospitality, and delivered lectures, which were attended by nearly fourteen thousand students. Alexandria was enriched by the masterpieces of painting and sculpture. Ptolemy Philadelphus ordered the translation of the sacred Jewish books from Hebrew into Greek, and from that time they were read throughout the civilized world; and the Septuagint, or Version of the Seventy (so called from its authorization by the Jewish Sanhedrin), became the authorized version throughout all the East. The same prince commanded the exploration of the unknown regions which lay beyond the cataracts of Syene, and resumed the work that Necho had commenced with the object of joining the Nile to the Red Sea.

*Science and Literature at Alexandria.*—Alexandria became a new Athens, although literature never reigned there as it had done in the city of Athena. No great writer appeared there, and the most illustrious name is that of Theocritus, a Syracusan, a charming pastoral poet, who sang of the country, and who in his idylls or little pictures of life shows a remarkable love of nature joined to a command of musical and curiously exquisite language.

But Alexandria was chiefly distinguished for the spirit of criti-

cism. The Egyptian priest Manetho (285—247 B.C.), writing in Greek, was the author of "Chronicles of Egypt," of which but a few short fragments remain to us. Berosus did a yet more important work for Chaldean history. Zenodotus (280 B.C.) was librarian of the Museum, and began the work of correcting and commenting on the text of the Greek poets. Aristophanes of Byzantium (200 B.C.) endeavoured to preserve the true pronunciation of Greek—endangered by the mixture of races that employed it—by marking by means of simple signs the syllable on which the accent or stress fell. Aristarchus (156 B.C.) revised the Homeric poems, and by his sagacity and good taste laid the foundations of scientific scholarship.

The "Elements" of Euclides (Euclid), written in the reign of Ptolemy Soter, have become the foundation of modern geometry. Archimedes (200 B.C.) was a leader of progress in mechanics. Eratosthenes, who flourished about the same date, the custodian of the library at Alexandria under Ptolemy Euergetes, was both a literary and a scientific man. He was the first to measure a degree of the meridian and to estimate the size of the Earth, as it was then supposed to be.

Alexandria became the central meeting-place for the best minds of the East and the West. All doctrines were represented, and mingled freely there; the Jews became impregnated with Greek ideas, the Greeks were initiated into the Oriental systems. As a result of these influences the Neoplatonic school arose and flourished, and the thought of Philo the Jew was influenced by the two schools of thought, Greek and Oriental. This philosophical and scientific movement continued during the whole period of the Roman empire, for Alexandria must also be credited with Ptolemy (second century A.D.), the famous geographer and astronomer, who arranged a planetary system, which held its place until it was superseded by that of Copernicus.

*The Greco-Syrian Monarchy; Empire of the Seleucida.*—The monarchy founded by Seleucus at Babylon (312 B.C.) comprised the greater part of the countries conquered by Alexander, and after the battle of Ipsus (301) and Corupedion (280) it included nearly

the whole of the Persian empire, excepting Egypt, Phœnicia, and the north of Asia Minor. Eastern Asia escaped from the rule of the Seleucidæ (250), and notwithstanding an expedition of Antiochus III., which penetrated to the boundaries of India, these princes found themselves forced to renounce the more distant countries at a time when they had much difficulty in holding together the various populations of Asia Minor, Lebanon, and the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates.

Of these peoples no one was in a position to lord it over the others, so much so, that the Seleucidæ had no fixed capital, moving their court from the old and decaying capitals of Assyria to the new cities founded in imitation of their master Alexander. The Seleucidæ were in fact great founders of towns. Seleucus I. built on the Tigris, at the junction of the canal with the Euphrates, Seleucia, a city which soon attracted the commerce of Babylon, and at the same time became the resort of the merchants of Upper Asia. He gave the name of his son Antiochus to another town built on the Orontes, in Syria—Antioch, not far from the Euphrates and Asia Minor. Although it was not a seaport, and was obliged to have a separate port in the town of Laodicea (named after Seleucus's mother), Antioch rivalled Alexandria in activity and luxury, and like Alexandria it became a centre of Greek culture as well as of commerce, where both merchants and philosophers assembled from all countries. The two cities resembled huge crucibles, where the fusion of nationalities and of ideas went on. Antioch contained upwards of seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and merited the title of Queen of the East. Seleucus also founded Apamea, on the Orontes, called after his first wife, and many other towns, for there were at least sixteen Antiochs, five Laodiceas, three Apameas, &c. Several of these towns were exclusively Greek, and enjoyed a free administration (a people's assembly, senate, archons, strategus, &c.), and many of them, as Magnesia, Ephesus, Smyrna, had the right of coining money.

Although the administration of the Seleucidæ was very imperfect, and the conduct of Antiochus III. and Antiochus Epiphanes was very absurd, the monarchy of the Seleucidæ, even in its decline,

was more brilliant than the ancient Persian empire. In the first place the Hellenization of Asia advanced under their rule to a very high point of perfection. Greek culture and Greek refinement became known in all parts of their vast empire. In the next place, their wealth became enormous, and the wild extravagance of these princes, the unheard-of luxury which they displayed, prove that an immense amount of gold and silver had accumulated through the labours of a long peace and through the development of agriculture, industry, and commerce.

*The Kingdom of Pergamus.*—Some fractions of Asia Minor having escaped from the Seleucidæ formed small independent kingdoms—Bithynia, Pontus, and the kingdom of Pergamus. All had been under Hellenic influence, and the kingdom of Pergamus became glorious and prosperous under the dynasty founded by Attalus I. (241—197 B.C.). The library of Pergamus almost rivalled that of Alexandria, containing more than two hundred thousand manuscripts. Pergamus gave its name to the skins which were prepared there for writing, and which advantageously replaced papyrus and wax tablets. These skins were called *pergameæ chartæ* (*pergamea* in the Middle Ages), from which we have formed our word parchment. As we all know, parchment remained in use until towards the end of the Middle Ages, when it was replaced by paper made of rags. Pergamus also possessed artists and a school of sculpture. In the second century of the Christian era she boasted the celebrated doctor, Galen, who with Hippocrates is the glory of ancient medicine. Even in the remote kingdom of Bactriana intelligent princes restrained the nomad hordes of the north and encouraged learning. They have transmitted their names if not their glory by the survival of their beautiful coins.

*Decadence of the Greco-Macedonian Kingdom.*—The diffusion of Greeks throughout the East was not effected without detriment to Macedonia and Greece. The Greco-Macedonian kingdom was at first perpetually troubled by the struggles of rival rulers, then by the struggle between the two halves of the kingdom, sometimes united, sometimes separated, for Greece retained enough affection for her old liberty to be continually in revolt, though she had not

sufficient strength to regain her freedom. Greece still suffered from the evils that had destroyed her independence. Her cities were more than ever divided into the rival sections of the poor and the rich. More frequently than ever oligarchy and democracy supplanted each other, to the satisfaction of the Macedonians, who were thus always sure of a party favourable to their rule. In the meantime Greece became a battle-ground for the aspirants to the Macedonian throne—Polysperchon, Cassander, Antigonus-Gonatas, and Pyrrhus.

A revival of the Spartan power which took place under Agis and under Cleomenes was not of long duration. Athens was no longer formidable, but an Achæan league had been formed, which comprised twelve cities under a strategus, and which under the famous Aratus (245 B.C.) had succeeded in forming an alliance of the most important towns of the Peloponnesus. Sparta, of course, excepted. The reforms of Cleomenes and the Spartan ambition induced Aratus, but lately the liberator of the Greeks, to imperil the liberties of his country by appealing for aid to Antigonus Doson, King of Macedonia. With the help of the Macedonians, Aratus won the battle of Sellasia (222 B.C.), Cleomenes was vanquished, and with him the cause of Greece. The Achæan league remained the client of Macedonia until it became allied to Rome.

*The Roman Conquest* (197—146 B.C.).—The Romans, who, while engaged in the second Punic war, had for a time ceased their enterprises in Greece, attacked the Macedonians (200 B.C.), and finally broke their power at Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.). The Macedonians were compelled to restore autonomy to Greece and to pay the expenses of the war to the Romans. At the Isthmian games Flamininus the consul proclaimed the freedom of Greece. The Greeks received the boon with shouts of joy. They were allowed to be free, but they did not understand that liberty must be earned not granted; they had, in truth, only changed masters. But their new rulers dissimulated their mastery with the skill to which they owed their success. Philopœmen, chief of the Achæan league, "the last of the Greeks," carefully avoided giving them any offence, and chiefly occupied himself with strengthening the league he

headed. His policy was too patriotic for the Romans, who excited a revolt at Messene. Philopœmen perished, and Greece was left without a guide (188 B.C.). When the Romans had completed the subjugation of Macedonia (battle of Pydna, 168) they were no longer concerned to avoid offending the Greeks. A pretext was found, in disturbances arising from a dispute between Athens and Oropus, for dissolving the Achæan league, and a final defeat of their forces by the Romans under Mummius, ended the last struggles for Greek independence (146 B.C.). Greece became a Roman province under the name of Achaia.

*Diffusion of Greek Genius through the West; Polybius the Historian; Plutarch; Lucian.*—Rome thus brought into closer intercourse with Greece gradually came under the Hellenistic influence, and the writers of the Greco-Roman period of Greek literature now demand our attention. Among these, the first in note and in merit is Polybius the historian, who stands next to Herodotus and Thucydides, and has grasped and most admirably described the history of Roman conquest (from 264 B.C. to 146 B.C.). Born about 210 B.C. at Megalopolis, in Arcadia, his youth was passed in the days when the Achæan league was making a last effort against Rome. After the defeat of Perseus of Macedon by the Romans, Polybius was carried off to Rome. Taken into the house of Æmilius Paulus, he became the constant companion of the younger Scipio, and was an eyewitness of the great war; and his accounts have all the plainness and precision of despatches from the field. He was with Scipio at the destruction of Carthage, 146 B.C., and in the same year witnessed the burning of Corinth. Polybius was a judicious and profound historian; careful of the truth, he observed and explained the course of events, knowing how to group the whole circumstances and yet to analyse the details. Polybius accepts the universal empire of Rome as in accordance with the fitness of things: as Providence had ordained to Greece the empire of the mind, so it had ordained to Rome the empire of the whole earth. We possess five books only out of the forty which comprised the history. Livy from the beginning of the second Punic war makes free use of Polybius.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (25 B.C.) attempted in his "Archæology" an early history of Rome up to 264 B.C.—a sort of introduction to Polybius. Of this we possess a few books only.

Diodorus Siculus (40 B.C.) made, under the name of the "Historical Library," a universal history grouped round the centre of the world's life in his day—Rome. The geographer Strabo skillfully enlivened geography by information on the history, religion, and manners of the different nations—of Europe, Asia, Egypt, and Libya—which he passes in review. In the first century of the Christian era, Josephus, although Jewish in his nationality, wrote in Greek the "History of the Jewish War," from the capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes (170 B.C.) to the capture by Titus, of which he was an eye-witness.

The world empire of Rome diffused the Greek language and literature through the civilized world. Education made rapid strides. History and biography, criticism and rhetoric, took the place of poetry, and flourished together with the eminently practical Stoic philosophy, of which Epictetus—banished from Rome by Domitian's edict against philosophers (94 A.D.)—and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (121—180 A.D.) are the chief representatives.

In biography, Plutarch stands easily first. Born at Chæronea (40 A.D.), near the battlefield where Grecian liberty perished, Plutarch frequently visited Rome, where he was received with honour by Trajan and Hadrian. His chief work was the "Parallel Lives," every pair of lives consisting of one illustrious man of Greece and one of Rome. All his biographies are permeated with the charm which results from vivid narrative full of well-chosen details and well-told anecdotes. As much philosopher as historian, yet without losing himself in systems, he applied himself to incorporating in his "Moralia" or ethics all the precepts of practical morality.

As a brilliant essayist and satirist, with an admirable prose style, Lucian (160 A.D.) deserves a high place. His "Dialogues of the Gods," in which he satirizes the popular Greek religion, and his "Dialogues of the Dead," are admittedly classics in the department of satire in prose.

*Universality of Greek Genius.*—Conquered Greece had spread her language and literature over both the East and the West. Homer and Plato received increasing attention and admiration from the shores of the Nile and Orontes to the banks of the Tiber. There was no serious education given at Rome without the knowledge of the Greek language, and the Greeks not only continued to write, but they even inspired Latin writers, who took them for their models. The civilizing influence of Greece was even more

strongly felt in the East, in the countries where the Greeks were most numerous. Beneath the Roman rule the East remained Greek; Rome imposed political unity, but was unable to secure unity of language and civilization. When her empire fell, the East became a Greek empire, which continued until the middle of the fifteenth century.



Ancient bookcase.

During the centuries that followed the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453 A.D.), the Greeks had sufficient vitality

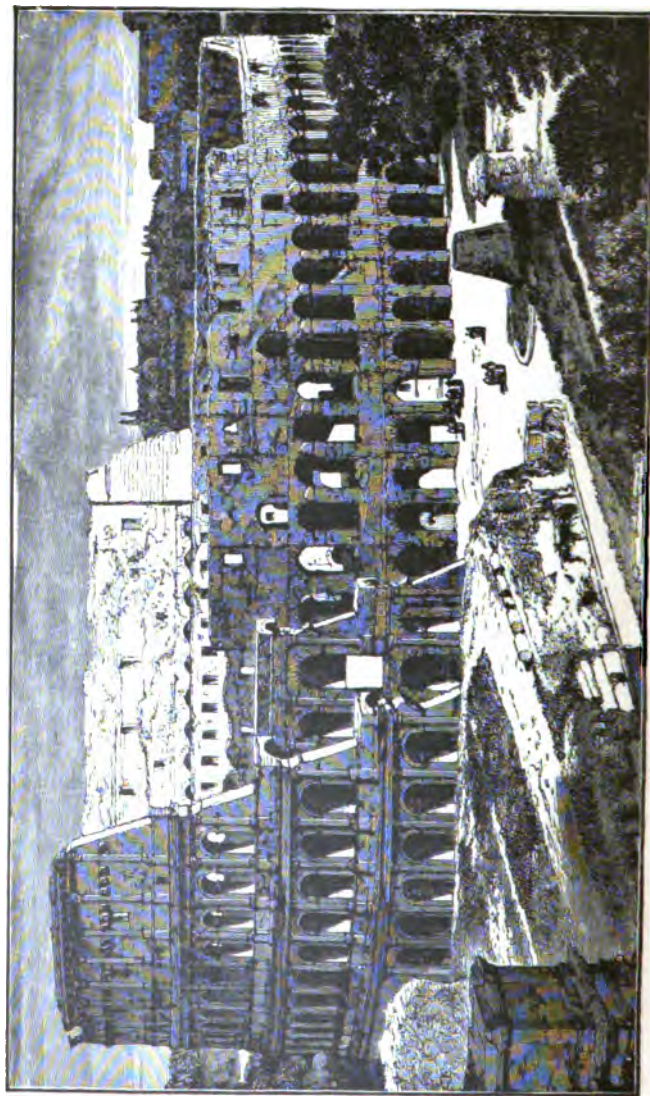
to preserve their nationality from destruction by preserving in the midst of Turkish slavery their language and their religion. Greece, liberated by the War of Independence in 1827, bent itself to regain the ground lost in the centuries of its captivity; and the progress of learning and education gives good hope that there will follow in due course a literary revival.

The great original work of the Greek mind in literature and art was done before 300 B.C., but the diffusion of the culture thus attained came later. This Hellenization of the civilized world was carried on under the auspices and through the medium of the world empire of Rome. And so while the modern world derives its tradition of law and government from Rome, it is from Greece that it derives the inspiration of its intellectual and moral life.



# SYNOPTIC TABLE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK CIVILIZATION.

| CENTURIES.                        | POLITICS.   | LITERATURE.   | ART.   |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|--|
| From the 20th to the 9th century. | Heroic ages: The Pelasgians, the Hellenes.—The religion: Twelve great gods, of whom Zeus was the first.—The Argonaut expedition.—The Trojan War (1183-1184)—First Greek colonies.               | Epic poetry: Homer and Hesiod; earliest Cyclic poems and Homeric hymns.   | Music.   |
| 8th and 7th centuries.            | First state organised in the Peloponnesus.—Dorian city of Sparta.—Lycurgus' legislation.—Greek colonization.  | Epic poetry: Callinus, Tyrtaeus (7th century), Archilochus, Mimnermus.—Lyric poetry: Alcaeus, Sappho, Aleman, Stesichorus.  | Terpander (the lyre).  |
| 6th century.                      | The Ionian city of Athens developed itself in Central Greece.—Solon's constitution (534).   | Elegiac poetry: Solon, Theognis, Xenophanes.—Lyric poetry: Ibycus, Anacreon.—Tragedy: Thespis.—History, Herodotus.—Philosophy: Thales, Pythagoras.  | Architecture in the Greek colonies.—The three orders.  |
| 5th century.                      | Conflict between the Greek world and the Oriental world.—The Median wars (500-449).—Administration of Pericles at Athens (444-429).—Commencement of the decadence.—Peloponnesian War (431-404). | Lyric poetry: Simonides, Bacchylides, Pindar.—Tragedy: Phrynichus, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides.—Comedy: Cratinus, Fupolis, Aristophanes.—History: Hellanicus, Herodotus, Thucydides.—Oratory: Antiphon.—Philosophy: Parmenides, Empedocles, Anaxagoras. | Ictinus, Callicrates, Mnesicles, Phidias (architects).—The Parthenon of Athens.—The Propylaea, &c.—Sculpture: Phidias, Polycletus.—Painting: Polygnotus, Zeuxis, Parrhasius. |
| 4th century.                      | Power of Sparta.—Momentary grandeur of Thebes (379-362).—Power of Macedonia.—Alexander, Greco-Macedonian empire (336-323); its dismemberment.   | History: Xenophon, Ctesias.—Philosophy: Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Epicurus.—Rhetoric: Lysias, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Aeschines.—New Comedy: Menander.  | Praxiteles, Lysippus (sculptors); Apelles, Protogenes (painters).  |
| 3rd century.                      | Prosperity of Egypt (the Lagidae).—Prosperity of Syria (the Seleucidae).  | History: Manetho, Berosus.—Philosophy: Stoic and Epicurean Schools.—Science: Euclid, Eratosthenes, Archimedes.—Poetry: Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, Callimachus.  |  |
| 2nd century.                      | Greece subjugated by the Romans.  | History: Polybius.—Learning: Aristarchus.—Poetry: Apollonius Rhodius.   |  |
| 1st century, B.C.                 |   | Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus.   |  |
| 1st century, A.D.                 |   | History, Biography: Strabo, Josephus, Plutarch.—Eclectic Stoicism: Epictetus.   |  |
| 2nd century.                      |   | History: Arrian, Appian, Pausanias.—Belles Lettres: Lucian.—Philosophy: Marcus Aurelius.—Poetry: Oppian.  |  |
| 3rd century.                      |   | History: Herodian.—Christian Learning: Clement of Alexandria, Origen.—Philosophy: Neoplatonists, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus.  | Science and Learning: Ptolemy, Galen, Athenaeus.   |



The Coliseum, at Rome.

## BOOK III.

### THE ROMAN WORLD.

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#### CHAPTER XI.

##### THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

**SUMMARY:** The Romans—Italy: Situation of Rome—The Etruscans—Formation of the Roman People—Roman Religion—The Religious Idea amongst the Romans—The Roman Family; the Paternal Authority—Marriage; the Mother of the Family—Emancipation; Adoption—The Condition of the People: Liberty and Slavery—The Freedmen—The Rights of Property—Organization of the City: the Gens—The Curiae: the Tribes—The Patricians and Plebeians; The Tribunes—The Laws of the Twelve Tables: Civil Equality—The Law of Marriage: Social Equality—The Division of the Consulate: Political Equality—The Plebeians admitted to the Priesthood: Religious Equality—Union of the Two Orders: its Consequences—The Government of the Roman Republic: the Senate—The Assemblies: Comitia of the Curiae, of the Centuries, and of the Tribes—The Consuls—The Dictator—The Censor—The Prætor—The Quæstor—The Tribunes—The Ediles—The Equites: the Collection of Taxes—Organization of the Army: the Legion—Military Discipline—Patriotism—Disinterestedness and Poverty—Character of the Roman Republic.

*The Romans.*—Though in the region of the mind the Greeks were so necessary to all other nations, in the affairs of life the Romans were their masters. Rome possessed stability of character and perseverance, discipline in government and method, military power and patriotism, in a far higher degree than Greece. Rome had the desire and genius for government. Her rule was not that of an exclusive race, numerically stronger than the Hellenic family, but of a city which amalgamated from amongst all nations fresh citizens

with her own, until she had adopted them all and become the universal centre. Rome, in truth, was a political expression. She united a hundred different peoples in one body without destroying national distinctions. She subordinated the local institutions that she respected to her general institutions, the national religions to her religion, the particular laws to her laws, and the multitude of languages which were spoken in all parts of her empire to her own language. Rome was a fatherland that took the precedence of every native land, but the unity she established did not do away with the diversity of the various nationalities she absorbed.

Her civilization included all the ancient civilizations in a union that was more apparent than real, a civilization that was original although eclectic, which was brilliant in spite of its defects, and which rescued the West from barbarism. Even when destroyed it served, we may say, to leaven the civilization of the Middle Ages and of modern times. Rome was the direct teacher of Europe, and in studying her we already, in some degree, study the origins of modern civilization. "No historical investigation in a grand style," says Mommsen, "can look away from Rome."\*

*Italy: Situation of Rome.*—Rome was situated nearly in the centre of Italy, that peninsula shaped like a leg and traversed by the Apennines. A neighbour of Greece, bordering upon Gaul, not far from Spain, and projecting one extremity towards Africa, Italy divides the Mediterranean in two distinct parts, and is thus admirably situated for ruling it completely.

But the history of Rome is not the history of a country like Assyria or Egypt, it is rather the history of a city like Tyre or Carthage, which remained the centre of and gave the name to a mighty empire. Italy is much larger than Greece, and could sustain a numerous population. Although somewhat mountainous, it possessed between the Apennines and the Mediterranean fine plains,

\* For this reason modern learning has specially been applied to examine the numerous problems which Roman history presents. The science of epigraphy, that is the study of inscriptions, enables us to better comprehend the mysteries of the Roman religion, and particularly the Roman institutions and laws.

connected with each other in a way which rendered unity possible. Such a country was naturally the home of a numerous population, robust, serious, as vigorous in military life as the Spartans, almost as intelligent in civil life as the Athenians.

Rome, built on the banks of the Tiber, was in the middle of Italy, itself the centre of the ancient world. Situated at some distance inland, for a long time Rome was not a naval power, but she was near enough to the sea, by way of the Tiber (five leagues), to become ambitious of maritime empire, an ambition which the extent of the Italian coasts naturally awakened.

*The Etruscans.*—The most profound mystery surrounds the origin of Roman history. At least four peoples seem to have succeeded one another on the soil of Rome. The Siculi, called by Dionysius "a barbaric race sprung from the soil," are said by him to have first peopled Rome; next came the Ligures, with affinities with the modern Basques; then the Pelasgians, inhabitants of Greece prior to the Hellenes, to whom may be traced the affinities in language and mythology between the Greeks and the Italians. With the Pelasgians must be classed the Aborigines, a people whose descent and origin is entirely unknown. At a later date Rome was the point of junction of three peoples, the Etruscans, Sabines, and Latins. The Roman people was formed on the seven-hilled site of the city of a mixture of Latins and Sabines, whilst they probably received their religion and customs from the people who were the chief power in Italy before them, the Etruscans.



Etruscan adoring the hearth.

In the eighth century B.C. the Etruscans, who had lost their hold

on many of their possessions, still formed a powerful confederation of twelve cities in Etruria proper, between the Arno and the Tiber. They were perhaps of Pelasgian origin, like the Hellenic and other Italian tribes, but the Etruscans seem to have preserved the traditions of their Asian cradleland better than any other people in Italy. The Etruscans, like other Eastern peoples and like the Egyptians, had a mysterious religion, which was the possession of an organized priesthood, and was preserved by them with exclusive

care. The funeral grottos of Etruria have proved rich mines of vases, jewels, and utensils of all kinds, which now enrich the Italian museums.



Etruscan woman.

*The Formation of the Roman People.*—The early history of Rome consists of poetic legends, in which it is impossible to separate the groundwork of fact from the superstructure of fiction. Such is the fable of Æneas, which professes to account for the origin of the Roman people as fugitives from Troy, and which became the great historic legend of Rome. Such is the story of Romulus and Remus. Such, with a more solid basis of fact, the deeds of Numa, of Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, of the Tarquins, and the story of the crime of Sextus, which led to the banishment of the kings. In the primitive ages a committee or council of the curiæ called the Senate, together with the patricians made up the city of Rome. There were three tribes, subdivided into

ten curiæ, and each curia into ten decuriæ under certain chiefs. The king himself was nominated by the Senate and elected by the curiæ. The curiæ and their representatives held all the power of the state, executive as well as legislative. Beneath them came the great body—the plebeians—neither members of the aristocracy nor its dependants, and without religious or political rights. They had either come to Rome in the pursuit of trade or been brought as the spoils of conquest, and were chiefly domiciled foreigners subject only to the authority of the king. For centuries after the

expulsion of the kings the patricians, or descendants of the original settlers at Rome, were in continual struggle with the descendants of the later settlers—the plebeians—and the history of these struggles and of the gradual progress of the plebeians to equal rights makes up a large part of the history of the city of Rome.

*The Roman Religion.*—The Roman religion bore the mark of its Aryan origin. The gods are personifications of the appearances and forces of nature. The Divine was scarcely distinguished from natural phenomena. The greater gods—as Jupiter, Juno, Janus, Diana—were based on the phenomena of the skies. Jupiter (*Deus pater*) was god of light. Juno was goddess of the days when the crescent moon reappears in the heavens. Diana was a national lunar deity corresponding to Janus. Janus was the true Italian god of the sun. He is also called Quirinus, probably from *quiris*, a Sabine word signifying a spear. Mars was the god of productiveness and war. The gods of the soil and agriculture were, like the gods of the sky, of both sexes. The chief were Tellumo, Tellus, Saturn, and Ops. And of these Saturn, the chief and the most ancient of the Italian divinities, gave his name to the age of simplicity, peace, and honest labour which marked the change in the life of the people from the nomad life of the hunter to the settled life of the husbandman. Orcus is chief of the subterranean gods, and rules over the departed ones called *manes*—the deified and transfigured ones who inhabited the deep places of the earth. Fire is represented by Vesta (Sanskrit *vaas*, to inhabit), and her worship is closely connected with that of the Penates, the tutelary spirits of the house. Vesta was one of their chief divinities; and the young girls who had devoted their lives to her service—the Vestals—watched over the sacred fire that was always kept burning in her honour in the Atrium, where the Vestals dwelt beside her temple. The Romans also honoured a number of rural deities, Flora, Pomona, Faunus, Pales, Pan, and others. The gods had their festivals, as the Lupercalia, the festival of the Lycean Pan, the Terminalia of Terminus, the Saturnalia of Saturn, and the Ambarvalia, the festival of the fields.

These last-named rites were confided to a college of twelve

priests, called the *Arvales fratres*. There were also the *Flamens* (priests of each of the gods); the *Salii* (priests of the god *Mars*), to whom the care of the *ancilia* or sacred shields were confided; the *Fetiales*, charged with performing the ceremonial which accompanied declarations of war or treaties of peace. But generally there was no separate priestly caste. The priesthood was not only a lay but a national institution. "Our forefathers," says Cicero, "were never more truly inspired than when they decided that the same persons should preside over religion and govern the republic." And so men became priests or augurs, prætors or consuls, at the same time. Thus there was never any conflict between religion and the State. "The class and the family," says Mommsen, "were not annihilated in the Roman community, but the ultimate foundation of law was the state. Liberty was simply another word for the right of citizenship in the widest sense."

*The Religious Idea amongst the Romans.*—Although the ancient religion was preserved for many centuries, the invasion of Greek philosophy produced an important change in the Roman faith, particularly in the century before the commencement of the Christian era. From this period the Roman philosophers did not hesitate to seek for the notion of God in their own consciences. Cicero, and later the moralists of the Roman empire, rose to the conception of a God revealed in the marvels of nature, a Being of sovereign intelligence, who had arranged the world with infinite wisdom. The Roman philosophers were less prone to lose themselves in speculation than the Greeks, and maintaining a practical basis they succeeded in framing a religious philosophy founded on reason and conscience, which formed a strong contrast to the State religion with its empty ceremonials, which were incapable of developing the sentiment of true piety in the soul. The religious philosophy, first of Cicero and afterwards of Seneca, was a part of the long preparation of the ancient world for Christianity.

*The Roman Family; the Paternal Authority.*—At the same time the old Roman religion was the bond of union between all the members of the same family. The power of the father (*patria potestas*) was nowhere considered more holy or more absolute. It



continued during the father's life, even when the son himself had a family. Only the father was free to have an opinion of his own (*sui juris*); the children, even after their majority, did not belong to themselves; they were *alieni juris*, i.e. under the law of another, that is of their father. The son might be a citizen, even a magistrate, yet in the home he was under his father's rule; and the father's power extended to the right of selling the son as a slave or even of killing him in case of crime. Justice, before belonging to the State, belonged to the father, as priest and judge.

*Marriage; the Mother of the Family.*—Since amongst the Romans the son was thus in the power of the father, it is scarcely necessary to say that he could not marry without the paternal consent, for his children would not be under his control during his father's life. Marriage was one of the most solemn events in the life of the Roman citizen. The only union that was legal must have been contracted with the consent of the head of the family, at a certain requisite age, between persons of free position. This was a legal marriage, and was usually celebrated with solemn religious ceremonies (*confarreatio*), but reserved for the alliance between great families. Nevertheless, marriage existed for the lower classes, although it was not consecrated like the patrician alliances. If the requisite conditions were not fulfilled there was no real marriage, the children were not under the paternal authority, and the portion brought by the woman was not subject to the laws of dowry.

Real marriage could only be between Roman citizens. The wife had the same dwelling as her husband, and retained it after his death. She left her family and her family gods, to enter her husband's family and to worship his gods. Consequently, if her husband were still subject to paternal authority, she and the children who were born to her fell under the same rule. But the wealth that formed her dowry was managed according to certain rules, which secured its safety and its restitution if death dissolved the union. Divorce was at first uncommon—the first divorce is said to have taken place 234 B.C.—but afterwards divorce was facilitated, and became of frequent occurrence, and obtainable at the will of either man or wife.

No marital power resulted from the mere marriage. A special deed was required, and a special consent, before the wife fell, as they said, *in manum*. The *manus*, which much resembled the paternal authority, signified a power exercised over the woman, either by her husband or by a trustee. A girl who found herself freed by her father's death could not retain her liberty; she was placed under guardianship. If she married and the deed conferring the right of *manus* on her husband intervened, he became her trustee; if the deed did not intervene she retained her trustee. Widowed or divorced, she could not escape from some guardianship; she was always *in manu*. When the power of the *manus* had not been conferred on the husband by the solemn marriage (*confarreatio*), it was attained by a counterfeit sale of the woman to him (*coemptio*) by her father or by herself, with her trustee's authorisation. However harsh the Roman laws may have been, custom, which is stronger than law, assigned an honourable rank to the wife, *materfamilias*, the mother of the family, as they called her. She was head of the household, watched over the children's education, and had great influence with her husband. Roman matrons enjoyed remarkable freedom, for marriage was protected by very severe laws, and, moreover, most of them were animated by a strong feeling of pride of race, and by the sentiment of honour. For a long time they were simple in their dress, and this simplicity was rendered compulsory by strict sumptuary laws which regulated the toilet. The Roman women worked diligently, carefully fulfilling all their domestic duties, and holding aloof from public affairs; but even when they were occupied with their modest home duties they were, like their husbands, passionately zealous for the glory and greatness of Rome. Cornelia was proud of being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, but she was yet prouder of hearing herself called the mother of the Gracchi.

*Emancipation; Adoption.*—The paternal authority was so great amongst the Romans that the father could not renounce it without first deliberately declaring his wishes three times. It required three emancipations or successive sales to liberate a son—to emancipate him, as we say. It was necessary for the father to go through the

form of selling his son to a third person, who then freed him as a slave was freed. This sale had to be repeated three times before the son belonged to himself, became *sui juris*. Adoption was a much more common formality amongst the Romans. In order to provide for the perpetuation of the family, if natural heirs were wanting, it was customary to create a family in the eyes of the law by the adoption of a child or children from other houses. Adoption could even be exercised in favour of persons who had already attained manhood, and of persons who were in possession of all their rights (*sui juris*), when it was called adrogation. But this form of adoption was only allowed to those who had no children, and who could not hope for any; it was accompanied by solemn forms, and required the consent of the pontiffs. The free man who was "adrogated" lost his independence and fell under the power of the man who accepted him as a son. Everything that he possessed passed to his new father.

Adoption required the fulfilment of as many complicated forms as adrogation. The paternal authority of the natural father had to be dissolved, and a new paternal authority created in favour of the adopting one. In order to renounce his *patria potestas* over his son, the father, as we have already explained, was obliged to emancipate him, then the father, the would-be adopter, and the child had to present themselves before the magistrate and feign a lawsuit. The adopter claimed the child, the father offered no opposition, and the magistrate declared that he registered the deed. The adopted child then entered his new family, and if he remained there became the heir. Adoption was allowed even to those who had children.

*The Condition of the People: Liberty and Slavery.*—The laws just given respecting family ties necessarily only applied to free men. There was one fundamental difference outside every political distinction, this was the difference between free men and the slaves. Free men, that is men born free, were *ingenui*, and at first no others (though afterwards manumitted slaves were admitted to the franchise) could acquire any civil rights. The others were all slaves. Slavery naturally embraced all prisoners of war, those who had

suffered any ignominious condemnation, insolvent debtors, &c. The slave, whether he belonged to the State or to a citizen, ceased, so to speak, to be a man. The property of a master, to whom he was only a chattel, the slave had absolutely no judicial existence. His marriage was neither a civil nor a religious formality, and produced none of the results of legitimate marriage. A slave had no family of his own, even when he had children, for they became slaves by the fact of their birth. The slave was a part of his master's family, in the sense that he was under the power of the father of the family, and that he could not contract any obligations, nor acquire anything without the intervention of his master. The master's power over the slave was so absolute that he could even put him to death if he wished. It required long centuries of moral development before the laws under the empire restricted this absolute power, which was often abused, and it required a new religion to put an end to slavery itself.

The slave was a portion of his owner's wealth; he could therefore be sold, and formed part of the *res mancipi*.\* If the master did not wish to alienate the slave entirely, he could reserve the bare ownership and cede the usufruct. Everything the slave produced belonged to his master, who only left him a minimum portion of the fruits of his labour, which formed his small savings, his *peculium*. The slave was not only entrusted with the cultivation of the fields and domestic service, he also used the handicraft he had learnt for his master's profit, and a singular economical situation ensued, producing consequences that were felt later on.

*The Freedmen.*—Sometimes a slave won some title to his owner's gratitude, and he was consequently freed. Amongst this people, who loved law and forms, particular ceremonies marked the passage from slavery to freedom; the most usual was the manumission by the *vindicta*. The owner had also the right at each revision of the franchise to inscribe his slaves in the ranks of citizens. This freed them, and he could also free them by will.

\* For what chattels were *res mancipi*, see Gaius, i. 119, 299.

The freedman, *libertinus*, then became free, but the original blot clung to him, and the freedmen with their sons formed a large class at Rome, intermediate between the slaves and the *ingenui*, or free born. Besides, the freedman was not liberated from all his obligations towards his former owner, who had become his patron. He owed him respect and could never bring a criminal action against him, whilst even for a civil action he required the prætor's authorization. A freedman, placed at the head of a commercial enterprise, was bound to give part of the profits to his patron; frequently he remained in the house as secretary or steward. If a freedman failed in his engagements, the patron could prosecute him and could claim one half of his goods. On the other hand, the patron had duties towards the freedman; he was bound to interest himself in his affairs, to assist him in his lawsuits, and to give him a place after death in the family tomb.

The freedmen were not admitted to the right of serving in public offices, but they grew in influence as political decadence set in. They were excluded from military service, which was esteemed an honour, and until the reign of Augustus they could not contract marriage with freeborn families, the law being as strict as popular prejudice. Centuries were required before the distance that separated freeborn men from freedmen or the descendants of freedmen was diminished.

*The Rights of Property.*—The Roman laws about property were as rigorous as those that concerned the family. Full ownership was the *dominium*, the absolute right of using property as the owner pleased. Deriving its origin from conquest and religion, it was symbolized by the spear carried before the tribunes and by the boundaries, consecrated to the god Terminus, which marked the limits of the fields. The rights of property in their plenitude (*ex jure Quiritium*) could only belong to Roman citizens, particularly when they referred to Roman soil. Even after he had alienated his property a Roman citizen could reclaim it at a later period. In short, Roman landed property was sacred, almost inalienable, and it soon became necessary to distinguish the simple possession which did not require any solemn forms. Only the

father of the family could acquire full ownership, the other members could not possess anything except through him.

When the *res mancipi* (the property over which the proprietor possessed full rights) were to be alienated, the co-operation of eight persons was required, and the sale was represented by a material symbol (*per æs et libram*, by the brass and scales). It was necessary that every person participating in a deed of sale should be a Roman citizen. Another equally solemn form was a fictitious lawsuit before a magistrate (*in jure cessio*).

This attachment to land amongst the Romans involved a very complicated legislation respecting deeds of gift, succession, and testamentary arrangements. The father had in reality the free disposition of his wealth; he could distribute it amongst his friends, provided that he had clearly by an unquestionable deed declared his wishes.

A slave could be the heir and could not even refuse the inheritance; this was the case when the head of the family had only left debts. All the disgrace of the sale of goods effected by the creditors fell upon the slave. This was one of the evasions, one of the ingenious and not particularly moral fictions with which the Romans endeavoured to legally justify what morality reprobated. Besides this, their lawyers had observed every case, imagined every hypothesis, whether it referred to goods or to persons, to personal or rural servitude, to legacies or to sales; they had anticipated everything, regulated everything with so much detail, so much precision, that modern legislators have only had to adapt their rules to the general principles of our civil rights.

*Organization of the City: the Gens.*—The Roman city was not formed only by the aggregation of natural families. The family, which was already very large since it included the slaves, also comprised a number of persons who, although not bound by ties of blood, were united in interests and religion; the political family, if we may so term this singular association, was called the *gens*. The persons attached to the family, who might number several thousands, were called clients.

At Rome the *gens* was the basis of the political organization, and

remained so for some centuries. Around a natural family placed under the power of a single chief, whom they acknowledged as the head of the domestic worship, the sole owner of the patrimony, and if necessary the sole judge, were grouped men who adopted the same chief, who honoured his domestic gods, and who looked to him as their protector. The large number of these clients was considered a distinction and a strength by each *gens* that boasted a name, gloriously transmitted through the previous ages: the Cornelian, the Claudian, the Fabian, the Appian, the Julian, &c. The clients had either received land or money; they were bound by interest and gratitude, and the law as well as custom required them to show devotion to their patron, and sometimes to pay him pecuniary tribute, whilst he was equally obliged to assist and defend them. Constrained to reciprocal fidelity, the patron and client could not bring an accusation or bear witness against each other. The chief of a *gens* had therefore, both in the town and country, scattered clients, who promptly assembled if he summoned them either for a sacrifice, for a political contest, or even for a foreign expedition, for we find some of the great families venturing, like the Fabian *gens*, with only their own clients, upon the enemy's territory and sacrificing themselves for the safety of Rome.

*The Curia: the Tribes.*—The families (or *gentes*), were divisions of the *curia*, into ten of which each of the three ancient tribes were divided. In early times the assembly of the *curia* alone formed the legitimate representative of the whole Roman people. Each *curia* was a corporation with its own special religious rites, its own place for worship, in which its members met to discuss their common affairs.

*The Patricians and Plebeians; the Tribunes.*—The history of Rome, as has been already said, is a history of the struggles of the plebeians for equality with the patricians. As a rule, perhaps scarcely sufficient notice has been taken of the truly practical instincts of the Roman plebeians. It appears as though, when the people had withdrawn to the Sacred Mount (493 B.C.), they could have exacted complete equality at once. But they did not yet dream of it; they only claimed immediate relief from their debts

and a plebeian magistracy. They obtained the magistracy under the name of the tribunes and declared themselves satisfied.

Nominated for the protection of the plebeians, the tribunes had only the right of opposing any injustice they might witness in the circle where their movements could be seen and their voices heard. But they had a suspensive right of veto which could arrest the political life of the Roman Republic. A citizen, let us suppose, was being dragged to prison by his creditor; if the tribune saw them he advanced saying, Veto, "I forbid;" the debtor remained free until the trial. Seated first at the door and afterwards inside the Senate, the tribunes listened to the patrician deliberations; if a decree that was ready to be laid before the Assembly of the Centuries seemed to them opposed to the interests of the plebeians, a tribune would exclaim Veto, and the law was not passed. If in order to break down the popular resistance a consul proposed convoking the army—for, once enrolled, a Roman ceased to be a citizen and became a soldier—a tribune could oppose the enrolment and say Veto, when it was immediately stopped. This apparently negative power, then, the courage and intelligence of the tribunes transformed into a real authority of marvellous extent and intensity.

Even for the creation of this plebeian magistracy a religious ceremony had been required which gave the tribunes a sacro-sanct character (as it was called), so that it was a crime to offend them, much more to strike them. The most detested tribunes could pass at their ease through the most enraged patricians. No one, even the consul, could arrest a tribune, and there was no redress against an abuse of power by one of these magistrates, except through the aid of one of his colleagues. "The work of a tribune," said the law, "can only be undone by a tribune," and, moreover, it required the agreement of five tribunes (afterwards of ten) before such decisions were valid.

The tribunes did not restrict themselves to protesting against the deeds of the patricians; they frequently convoked the Assembly of Tribes, *i.e.* where every one voted. They made these assemblies pass decrees called plebiscites (*plebis-scita*), which at first only



imposed obligations upon the plebeians (471 B.C.); but by dint of continual efforts the tribunes afterwards succeeded in imposing plebiscites upon the whole people (*populus Romanus*), 389 B.C. They perpetually placed the Assemblies of the Tribes in opposition to the Assembly of the Centuries, where they were at a disadvantage. They stimulated and harangued the people, urging them to win the liberties they were deprived of, and gave their name the sense which still clings to it, of impetuous leaders of the masses; they commenced and sustained a struggle which resulted in the conquest of civil, social, political, and religious liberty.

*The Laws of the Twelve Tables: Civil Equality.*—To obtain civil equality, the tribunes found it only necessary to force the patricians to draw up the well-known laws of the Twelve Tables. This work was confided to the Decemviri, magistrates invested with absolute authority, and it well-nigh resulted in a violent patrician reaction, which compromised the liberty the plebeians were endeavouring to win. The laws which were engraved on twelve brass tables, and exposed in the Forum, still retained, in spite of the numerous items borrowed from Greek legislation, the harshness of ancient justice. But their publication was in itself an improvement; the law shook off the religious dominion and became human; it no longer issued from the gods, but from the people. "The last thing decided by the people's votes was the law."\* If the people make the laws they can change them. Justice develops according to the progress of society.

The code of the Twelve Tables (450—449 B.C.) softened some of the severity of primitive justice, by allowing the patrimony which had formerly been reserved for the eldest son to be divided between the brothers; by limiting the paternal authority which then terminated after the triple sale of the son, and by facilitating testamentary arrangements by passing new regulations which were open to the plebeians. But the most important point gained was the promulgation of a law common to all; this was the real triumph of civil equality. The law of the Twelve Tables made no

\* Livy.

distinction between the patricians and the plebeians. "If any man," it said, "has committed such and such a crime, he shall also be punished." There could be no more of the arbitrariness so frequent in ancient times, when since only the patricians knew the laws they could soften or harden them according to whether the offender were a patrician or a plebeian. The text of the law was visible to all in the Forum and was the same for all. According to the Twelve Tables there were neither patricians nor plebeians, only citizens. This is what we call equality in the eyes of the law, or civil equality.

*The Law of Marriage: Social Equality.*—The exclusion of the plebeians from alliances with the patrician families was an indignity that galled them more than almost any other. "Why," said Canuleius, "why should not they also decide that a plebeian cannot dwell near a patrician, nor walk in the same road, nor sit at the same table, nor meet in the same forum?" The patricians were forced to yield (445 B.C.).

But another form of marriage, accessible to the plebeians, was gradually tending to replace the solemn marriage (*confarreatio*); this was the marriage by counterfeit sale (*coemptio*). This required no religious ceremonies, but was simply a civil form of marriage, though it was more honourable than the unceremonious marriage which consisted only of mutual consent.

Marriage then was open to the plebeians, and they soon began to ally themselves with the patricians. No doubt custom and prejudice were stronger than law for a time, for nothing is more tenacious than pride, but the barrier was broken down, and as a patrician no longer lost his rank by marrying a plebeian, social equality was won.

*The Division of the Consulate: Political Equality.*—There was no longer any reason for withholding political equality. When the patricians had once admitted the plebeians to the domestic hearth and to share in the family worship, how could they refuse to divide the public honours with them? The patricians, however, resisted this last innovation for nearly a century. No doubt they retreated before the rising plebeian tide, but slowly, proud,

disputing every point, and endeavouring by every possible artifice to delay the inevitable surrender.

Instead of abandoning the consulate they dismembered it, removing from it one of its most religious and important prerogatives, that of taking the census ; this prerogative was for the future (444 B.C.) confided to special functionaries, the censors, who were chosen from amongst the patricians.

In 366 B.C. the patricians at last consented to divide the consulate with the plebeians. But they still further weakened it, by detaching from it the prætorship, or the right of administering justice. They also reserved for themselves the curule ædileship (the direction and superintendence of the public games). But the plebeians were now masters of the position. From the time that they could assume the consuls' purple, command the army, in short become the first magistrates in the Republic, the struggle may be said to have practically come to an end. And at last the patricians, although they only did it under compulsion, admitted the plebeians to the dictatorship (356), the censorship (352), the prætorship (337), the questorship (321). Political equality, practically won from 366, soon became complete.

*The Plebeians admitted to the Priesthood : Religious Equality.—*

The patricians, however, were determined to keep the State religion in their own hands. But the tribunes soon perceived that without the sacerdotal office they could not derive the full benefit from the political concessions wrested from the patricians. An augur could dissolve an assembly because the omens were unfavourable, and the patrician augurs did not hesitate to interpret the heavens or the flight of the birds according to the interests of their order.

In vain the patricians rebelled against the innovation, arguing that men who were considered both strangers and ignoble would sully the old national religion. They were forced to remove the last grievance that prevented the re-establishment of peace. The plebeians attained the sovereign pontificate (301 B.C.). Religious equality had been reached, the crown and completion of civil, social, and political equality.

*Union of the two Orders : its Consequences.—*From the third cen-

ture before the Christian era there were no longer two peoples in Rome.

Besides, during these two centuries of contest the Roman institutions had been completed and perfected, the political spirit had been formed. Experience had enabled them to make a better distribution of power and to procure that union of order and liberty so dear to the Roman mind.

In 801 the government of republican Rome had settled down into a combination of aristocracy and democracy, a singular State where the people, content with their recognised rights, allowed the aristocracy to lead them, and where the patricians, forgetting their grievances, preserved by the ascendancy of their services the superiority which they used for the glory of Rome.

*The Government of the Roman Republic : the Senate.*—But whatever modifications might be introduced into the Roman institutions the government was always vested in the Senate. An august body of three hundred elders chosen from amongst the most gifted and most influential chiefs of the great families, the Senate deliberated on the laws and on all important decisions. It was charged with the superintendence of the public treasury, the regulation of military questions, and the relations with neighbouring or subject populations. In case of serious danger it could invest the consuls with absolute power. The president (*princeps senatus*) proposed a question for discussion, and when speeches had been made, the senators voted by placing themselves on either side of the place of assembly. It was at once seen whether the majority were on the right or the left, and the solemn formalities being accomplished the decree or *senatus-consultum* was published.

The wisdom and dignity of the Roman Senate, the calm intelligent manner in which it directed the defence of the patrician order against the plebeians, the ability shown in the conduct of external affairs, secured for it a prestige that centuries were unable to weaken. We may say it was the motive power of Rome as well as the regulating power.

*The Assemblies : Comitia of the Curia, of the Centuries, and of the Tribes.*—It was, however, necessary that the laws and the ques-

tions of peace or war should be submitted to the Assemblies or Comitia. The Assemblies of the Curia (Comitia Curiata) was exclusively composed of patricians, and fell gradually into a mere formality after the plebeians attained political equality. The Publilian law (471 B.C.) put an end to the election of the tribunes by the Assembly of Centuries, giving the election for the future to the Assembly of the Tribes. In the Assembly of the Centuries (Comitia Centuriata) great advantages were assured to the upper classes by the unequal distribution of the centuries. In this assembly the Roman people were regarded as an army, and its meetings were always preceded by a consultation of the omens and were held on the Campus Martius. The subject of discussion had been published beforehand, so that every one came with his opinion formed. They proceeded to vote in rank by centuries, each voter being given a wax tablet on which an arranged letter signified the citizen's opinion.\* Each century, in an order fixed by lot, passed through one of the hundred and ninety-three passages leading to an enclosure called the folds (ovilia), and threw their tablets into a chest; the tablets that had been returned were counted, and the opinion that prevailed was proclaimed as the opinion of the entire assembly. The centuries of the wealthier classes formed the majority almost by themselves, so that as soon as their vote was known it became useless to count the others.

The Assembly of the Centuries elected the magistrates, revised judgments where the capital penalty had been pronounced, accepted or rejected laws. It was the most orderly of all the assemblies.

The tribunes, as we have seen, opposed to it the Assembly of the Tribes, where the whole people took part in the decrees

\* If it were a question of nominating the magistrates, the number of classes of tablets equalled that of the candidates, and each bore the name of one amongst them. If the vote to be taken were the passing of a law, each received two tablets, one bearing the letters V. R. (*uti rogas*, "as thou proposest") for approval, and the other A. (*antiqua probo*, "I vote for the ancient custom," or *antiquo*, "I reject the proposal"). If it were a public judgment the letter A. said, "I absolve;" the letter C, "I condemn;" or the two letters, N. L. (*non liquet*), "the affair is not clear, we must have fuller information."

or plebiscites; the votes were counted by heads, and democratic views were uppermost. The Assemblies of the Tribes soon began to increase in power, but the Assemblies of the Centuries were not abandoned.

*The Consuls.*—The assemblies discussed and voted, the magistrates executed the laws. The consuls were the chief officers. There were two consuls chosen for each year by the Assembly of the Centuries; they were not eligible for office two years in succession. The consuls convoked the Senate and the people, presided over the assemblies, commanded the armies, nominated the inferior officers, superintended the expenses. The Consulate remained the highest dignity in Rome even after it had been shorn of its old prerogatives in favour of the new magistracies. The consuls gave their names to the year, and at Rome dates were noted by the names of those in whose consulate important events had taken place. They also gave their names to the laws which they proposed or caused to be adopted. The chief distinctions of the consuls were a chair of state ornamented with ivory (the curule chair), an ivory sceptre (the sign of command), a purple-bordered toga, and a guard of twelve lictors charged with the execution of their orders. Outside Rome they each had a right to twelve lictors, who, besides their bundles of rods (or fasces) borne within the city, bore each an axe, a sign of the power of life or death which the consuls possessed in the army. As priests and magistrates they offered sacrifices as soon as they entered on their command; they offered them again if they returned victorious and solemnly ascended to the Capitol. At the end of their year's office they took an oath that they had not done anything contrary to the laws.

This enforced retirement from power at the end of the year seriously compromised the military operations when they were on a large scale; the consuls' authority when in command of the army was therefore prolonged under the title of proconsuls, but they were then only generals; Rome nominated other consuls.

*The Dictator.*—In case of civil war or of external reverses the Romans re-established a temporary monarch under the name

of dictator. The dictator, preceded by twenty-four lictors, exercised absolute authority; all liberty was suspended. Armed with the power of life or death without appeal to the people, the dictator inspired real terror and none ventured to resist him. He generally was allowed to nominate his lieutenant, whom they called Master of the Horse (*Magister equitum*).

Thus the Romans were willing, when necessary, to sacrifice, for a time, the liberty for which they had struggled so bravely. They did not imperil it in consequence, for the dictator upon whom this absolute power was conferred could only retain it for six months. Had he wished it, he would not have found one soldier willing to execute his orders when they had once become illegal. Liberty at Rome was protected by a profound respect for law, and could only last as long as this respect lasted. The first dictator, far from endeavouring to exceed the time accorded to him, was, on the contrary, eager to resign his office before its term had expired. Cincinnatus, elected dictator, saved the legions surrounded by the Æquians, and at the end of sixteen days he set an example of simple greatness by returning to his cottage and his fields.

*The Censor.*—As we have said, the office of censor was detached from the consulate B.C. 448. The censorship entailed serious duties, and was always entrusted to the most trustworthy citizens in the republic. The censors were charged with the solemn registering or census of the citizens; with assigning to each his position in the classes according to his fortune, and also according to his conduct; and with revising the list of senators and knights. In short, the censor held the honour and the political rights of the citizens in his hand. In his function of overseer of morals he degraded those against whom he placed a mark of infamy to the lowest class of those who only paid the poll-tax.

Every five years the whole people passed before the two censors, to whom each citizen had to declare his fortune and family without any reserve. Every infraction of the law was disclosed, and the censors marked all those who had bound themselves by an illegitimate marriage or entered an illegal profession. He marked also

the prodigal son, the impious citizen, the patron who had betrayed his clients. He marked the senator whom popular rumour declared unworthy and stripped him of his privileges, and he took from the dishonoured knight the horse given him by the State. This rigid inspection and censure, which to us appears singularly difficult, was accepted by all because it was sanctified by religion. The purification (*lustrum*) of the people by the censor from all the faults they had committed took place every five years, and occupied such an important place in the life of the Roman people that the years were counted by lustra, the intervals of five years between each solemn purification.

*The Prætor.*—To administer justice was at first one of the duties of the consuls, but in 366 B.C. it was entrusted to a chosen magistrate, the prætor. This magistrate must not, however, be considered an active and universal judge, he only watched over the impartial administration of justice by the different tribunals, and over the just application of the law. To use the expression of the ancients, he was "the interpreter, the living voice of the civil law." The private justice exercised by the heads of the families wonderfully diminished the number of cases which came for trial in public. Only questions relative to public right required public judgments. A dispute arose between two citizens; they went before the prætor, who, after taking cognizance of the point at issue, decided the question of law without reference to the question of facts. He called a *judex*—a judge, *i.e.* an ordinary citizen—who listened to the two suitors, then returned before the prætor and declared which of the two, according to his judgment, was in the right. The prætor then took the formula which he had given, and pronounced judgment. We find here a very primitive justice, which recalls the simplicity of ancient life, under the open air, in the midst of the populace. The criminal cases were judged separately.

In criminal justice the prosecutor was either a private citizen or a magistrate, a consul, or a tribune. But most frequently it was a private accuser who prosecuted a citizen. The Romans were not acquainted with the functions of an attorney-general speaking in the name of society.



The prætor, on taking office, published an edict, the prætor's edict, which explained the system upon which he intended to judge such and such questions. The prætor's edicts accumulated from year to year, forming a mass of often contradictory decisions, which no one thought of arranging clearly and in order until much later. There was a prætor for the citizens, a prætor for the city (*prætor urbanus*), and a prætor for strangers (*prætor peregrinus*).

By strangers we must understand those men who, not being Roman citizens, could not claim the benefits of the Roman laws. Later on the prætors were sent into the provinces as governors, and they there took command of the troops. The prætor's office was eagerly desired, for it ranked amongst the curule magistracies, *i.e.* it gave its holder the right to a chair ornamented with ivory, and to receive the same honours as the censors and the consuls.

*The Quæstor.*—The quæstors were officers who had charge of the public funds. The quæstors at Rome had charge of the treasure and the archives, were responsible for the reception of foreign ambassadors and for their proper accommodation. They superintended the State expenditure. The quæstors were at first two in number, but in 421 B.C. the number was doubled; and as the Roman possessions increased and the business of finance became larger the number of quæstors was increased. Sulla appointed twenty and Julius Cæsar as many as forty.

*The Tribunes.*—We need not recur to the origin and the position of the plebeian magistracy of the tribunes. At first there were only two tribunes, then five, and from 458 B.C. ten. The tribunes could not leave the town for one day or even one night. Their persons were sacred and inviolable, and they could oppose the patricians with a passive resistance which proved most efficacious.

*The Ædiles.*—The ædiles were instituted at the same time as the tribunes, and were chosen from the plebeians. They were in charge of the police and of the public and private buildings of Rome. They watched over the victualling and the cleanliness of the town. They refused in 365 B.C. to celebrate the Ludi Maximi for four days instead of three, and two curule ædiles, chosen from among the patricians, were added to their number. The curule

ædileship, however, like the other magistracies, became accessible to the plebeians. This office, which entailed considerable expense, was sought after by rich young men, because it gave them an opportunity of winning the favour, and therefore, in the future, the votes of the people.

*The Equites : the Collection of Taxes.*—The equites, as the name signifies, were at first simply the cavalry. The equites or knights received each a horse from the State. After a time even plebeians became knights. Gradually the term equites, from being applied to those who were provided with a horse at the public expense, extended to those who served on their own horses, and then to those who were qualified by their fortune to act as judges. This last extension was the work of the Lex Sempronia, introduced by C. Gracchus. After the judges were no longer chosen from among them, the equites maintained their power by obtaining the farming of the taxes, which were let out to no one not possessed of considerable fortune. The active part the knights took against Catiline increased their influence, and they became a third body in the State, separate from the *Senatus Populus que Romanus*. The gradual admission to the order of all persons who had sufficient wealth, without inquiry into character or birth, led to its decay in the times of the emperors.

*Organization of the Army : the Legion.*—The Romans were originally as much soldiers as citizens. From seventeen years until forty-six years all the freeborn citizens who possessed not less than four thousand asses (the unit of value in the Roman coinage) owed military service to the State, whenever they were called, during the time they were retained under the flag ; after that age and up to sixty they guarded the city. Whilst they were liable for active service they were obliged at the first order to leave their family, fields, or commerce to march against the enemy. No one was his own master. The military oath bound the citizen to complete submission.

The legion or army corps was from the earliest times of Rome the military organization ; it contained in itself troops of all arms, and was in fact a small perfectly equipped army. Each citizen

knew the weapons that he must always keep in readiness at home, and to what line in the order of battle he belonged. The three lines were—first, the *hastati*, men in the bloom of youth, the majority heavily armed; secondly, the *principes*, men in the prime of life, all heavily armed; thirdly, the *triarii*, or tried veterans. Last were posted the *rorarii*, or light infantry, and the *accensi*. This was the order in the great Latin war. During the wars of the younger Scipio the *velites*, or light-armed skirmishers of the



Roman Soldiers.

legion, took the place of the *rorarii* and *accensi*. Under Marius, the legion was thrown open to all citizens, and former distinctions of fortune abolished, while all the legionaries were armed and equipped in the same manner. The *velites*, like the distinct lines, disappeared, and foreign mercenaries supplied the place of skirmishers. The Roman equites too became fewer; the mass of Julius Cæsar's cavalry, for instance, being foreigners, generally Gauls. The most radical change of all, however, was the establish-

ment of a distinction between the civilian and the soldier, that is the establishment of the military profession.

The legion was at first formed of three thousand men, and afterwards of four thousand; before the consulship of Marius it numbered about five thousand, afterwards from five to six thousand. Before Marius the legion was formed exclusively of Roman citizens. Military service was considered more of an honour than a burden. The legion was subdivided into ten cohorts, the cohort into three maniples, the maniples into two centuries, and each century into ten decuries or companies. The cohort was a fair equivalent to our modern battalion, it was the tenth part of a legion. The legion answered to a miniature edition of what we call an army corps. In fact the legion formed a small army in itself, furnished with a complete organization. Heavy-armed infantry, light infantry, cavalry, artillery, if we may so term military engines, it included them all, and by its subdivisions could be adapted to every possible form of battle. The chief officers of the legion were the *tribuni militum*, or tribunes. Their number was six for many centuries. The centurions were next in rank; there were two to each maniples. The first centurion of the first maniples of the *triarii* stood next in rank to the tribunes, and had charge of the eagle of the legion.

Originally the military standard was simply a pole crowned with a handful of hay. When the Roman troops were no longer an assemblage of labourers and shepherds, but the regular army of a nation, the standards were formed of a spear bearing the figures of animals: for instance, the eagle, the wolf, the horse, and the boar. From the second consulship of Marius (B.C. 104) the eagle only was used. The minor divisions of the legion, the cohorts and the centuries, had their own ensigns, those of the centuries inscribed with the number of the cohort and of the century, so that each soldier could find his place on the march or in the battlefield without difficulty. When on active service the legionaries were obliged to shut themselves into a fortified camp each evening. The camp was a fortified place. The soldier, after forced marches carrying 60 lbs. of baggage, on reaching the spot where the night was to be passed, at once com-

menced to dig a trench round the camp. A legion never dispersed amongst the villages. Always complete, always in order, it was ready at any moment to meet the enemy. The camps when necessary became stationary, and were then military towns which held the conquered provinces in awe.

*Military Discipline.*—The strength of the Roman army consisted, however, in the exact and strict discipline to which both officers and men were subject. Neither rank nor ties of blood were held of any account in the face of military discipline. Manlius caused his own son, who had in spite of his prohibition fought with and killed a Latin warrior, to be executed in the presence of the horrified army. Papirius Cursor the dictator wished to kill the master of his knights, Fabius, who also had during his absence and in defiance of his orders engaged in a battle and won it. Fabius took refuge in Rome. The dictator pursued him. Fabius was obliged to yield, and the Senate and people all united to entreat Papirius to pardon him.

Fabius in after years nobly avenged this bitter pursuit, for when asked to nominate a dictator he named Papirius. These incidents suffice to show the importance that the Romans attached to discipline, and they owed no small share of their success to this inexorable severity.

*Patriotism.*—Patriotism was a very strong feeling amongst the Romans, or the citizens would not have submitted to such rigorous discipline. This virtue above all others adorns the pages of Roman history. Men like Decius devoted themselves to the gods below, throwing themselves into the midst of the enemy to secure the victory for Rome. We might also recall Cincinnatus, Curius Dentatus, and Regulus, perhaps the most celebrated of all, because when he had counselled Rome not to make peace with the Carthaginians, he is said to have surrendered himself to the vengeance of his disappointed enemies, who had sent him, hoping that he would use his influence for peace in order to secure his own safety.

*Disinterestedness and Poverty.*—These manly virtues were enhanced by disinterestedness and frugality. Cincinnatus lived poorly. Regulus had only seven acres of land, and the Senate

was obliged to cultivate his field whilst the humble landowner commanded the army. Dentatus replied to the Samnite deputies, who found him eating his dinner from a wooden bowl, that when one can do without gold, one can command those who possess it. These generals enriched the republic and remained poor. The philosopher Seneca under the empire visited the house of Scipio Africanus, and was delighted with its simplicity. He wrote, "I am filled with shame when I compare Scipio's habits with our own. In this small home the terror of Carthage refreshed his weary body after his labours in the fields; he lived under this sordid roof; he used to dwell by this mean roadside." This disinterestedness and austerity were maintained over a long period of time, and had Rome given us only these few great examples in the course of many centuries, we could still understand the greatness she attained and from which she ultimately fell.

*Character of the Roman Republic.*—Rome had then remarkable national virtues and institutions. The Senate directed; the assembled people controlled. The passions of the plebeian crowd were tempered by an aristocracy that was respected even when it was hated. The magistracies all depended upon the people, who conferred them; they were annual, and the Roman's ambition was to serve in them all successively; he was thus prepared for every description of work and instructed in every duty. Skilfully distributed, the power was when necessary energetically concentrated, and Rome, so jealous of her liberty, resigned it for awhile if need required. Submissive to the law, harsh towards himself, impetuous yet disciplined, full of vigour yet cool-headed, conquering step by step civil, social, political, and religious equality, the Roman joined to the qualities of the citizen those of the soldier, and to political virtues family affections, the basis, it must be remembered, of all the others.

The Roman nation was a people of mixed blood, a people which increased by the absorption of foreign families, but which was not freely opened to the vanquished. It maintained its special organization supreme over that of each and all of the subject nations. Discipline and patriotism made the Roman not the in-

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habitant of such and such a country, but the superior man, the civilized man, the ideal man, according to the standard of judgment at that epoch. Rome was not a town, it was *the* town; not a city more or less great, but *the* city. The Roman State is the unique form of state; every ancient nation was forced to accept it, willingly or unwillingly to enter the city, which for a long time bargained with them about conceding the honour, and ended by making them consider slavery as freedom, sacrificing their nationality to Roman liberty, their country to the all-embracing citizenship of Rome.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE CONQUESTS OF ROME.—TRANSFORMATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

SUMMARY: Causes of Roman Greatness—Rights of the Roman City—Policy of the Senate—The Colonies—The Municipia; The Latin Rights; The Italian Rights—Subject Populations—Rome and Carthage: The Punic Wars—Conquest of the East—Conquest of the West—Results of these Conquests: Flow of Wealth to Rome: Luxury—The Slaves: Eban of Free Labour: The Great Landowners—Social Consequences: Disappearance of the Middle Classes—Moral Consequences: The Ruin of Religion: Invasion of Greek Ideas—Efforts for the Regeneration of the Roman Republic; The Gracchi: The Agrarian and Corn Laws—Change in the Army; Marius—Sulla, the Civil Wars: The Proscriptions—Domination of the Aristocratic Party—Servile Wars—Pompey—Julius Cæsar—Transformation of the Roman Republic: Cæsar's Dictatorship—Antony and Octavius: End of the Roman Republic.

*Causes of Roman Greatness.*—The first cause of Roman greatness is to be found, no doubt, in the strength and perseverance of the Roman national character. The national life was centred in Rome, and death and exile were esteemed as almost one and the same thing. Rome was for the Roman the centre of the world, and the only place worth living in.

The Romans were about four centuries and a half in conquering Italy (754—266 B.C.). But this slowness of conquest was an advantage to them. Rome had firmly established the basis of her power at home before she ventured outside Italy.

Another most important cause was the policy with which Rome advanced; assimilating her conquests, and overcoming other nations by the aid of the peoples already subdued. The Roman policy of conquest was original, and it was carried out with extraordinary method.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus highly praises the Romans, because.



contrary to the custom followed by other nations, they neither exterminated the inhabitants of the conquered cities nor reduced them to slavery, but left them free owners of part of their territory, ultimately even admitting them as citizens of their own capital.

*The Rights of the Roman City.*—This conquest of all the world offers on a larger scale a repetition of the steps that had resulted in the constitution of the Roman city. Rome was formed by the gradual admission of the plebeians into the city; and it was by the admission, even more skilfully managed, of the vanquished nations into the same city, that the world-empire of Rome was formed.

The franchise, or rights of the city, was the name given to the legal advantages attached to the title of full citizenship. The full franchise at Rome gave—1st. The right of suffrage, or of voting; 2nd. The right of honours (to fill the public offices); 3rd. The right of appeal (of appeal to the people in case of condemnation to death); 4th. Exemption from corporal penalties (torture, flogging, &c.); 5th. The right of census (of appearing on the registry of the census); 6th. Immunity from taxes and tributes imposed on the subjects of the city.

These may be called the public rights. With regard to private rights, only a citizen had the right—1st. Of absolute property; 2nd. Of contracting legal marriage, recognized by the State; 3rd. Of exercising the paternal authority and all the rights of civil relationship; 4th. The power of forming a gens.

*Policy of the Senate.*—The Senate pursued a double policy with regard to the vanquished peoples; first of disorganization, then of reconstitution; Govern by dividing—"Divide et impera"—was its motto. It endeavoured to break all confederations and alliances, it prevented marriages, commercial and every other kind of intercourse, between neighbours and former allies. It destroyed the primitive State, substituting the Roman city in its place; it availed itself of the local spirit, always so strong in men's hearts; in short, it ruined national patriotism in order to create municipal patriotism, and to render it prosperous. Each city thus became a separate unit, and

common action between the various States was rendered almost impossible. The subject or allied city recognized Rome as mistress, paid tribute, obeyed the pro-consuls, and each year sent a deputation to Rome, which regulated the affairs of the city.

In reality it was only the shadow of municipal rule.\* Besides this, every city was subject to different arrangements, Rome making with each a separate and special treaty. By thus opposing the interests of the one to those of the other, Rome fomented jealousies, and encouraged a rivalry which became a rivalry of obedience. She distributed her rewards so skilfully—sometimes to individuals, sometimes to the city—that she awakened in all a desire to merit these recompenses, as well as not to provoke the chastisement that they knew to be so terrible.

*The Colonies.*—Rome formed outposts of her power in colonies of her own citizens, which were endowed with territory taken from the vanquished populations. These armed citizens, owners of the soil, formed so many smaller Romes scattered throughout the subject country, capable of aiding each other, having the same institutions as Rome itself, their inhabitants endowed with the rights of franchise, of suffrage, of marriage, and of commerce. Rome was thus surrounded by a network of colonies, the inhabitants of which were Romans bound to defend Rome and her interests, which watched over the country and protected it against any sudden attack, and which also diffused the language, the customs, the religion, and even the blood, of the conquering city.

*The Municipia; the Latin Rights; the Italian Rights.*—As a rule Rome left the conquered towns their own legislation, their gods, language, customs, and institutions. She then accorded them, in various measure and degree, the rights of the city.

The most favoured cities, the *municipia optimo jure* (or of the first class), received the full endowment of citizenship, which their citizens could exercise when they visited Rome. Next came the *municipia* which enjoyed without franchise the title and bore the burdens of citizenship, but were shut out from the suffrage and the power of taking office in the city. Then came the cities which had

\* Fustel de Coulanges, "La Cité Antique."

renounced their ancient customs to embrace the laws and institutions of Rome, but yet did not bear the title of Roman. A man born in a municipium *optimo jure* could go to Rome and there attain all the honours as though he were a native citizen. But a man born in a municipium which had not the full rights, when at Rome, could not vote, or fill an office, or acquire property under legal forms, or marry a Roman woman. He lived there as a foreigner, inferior to the lowest plebeians, whatever might be his wealth, and liable to suffer the capital penalty without the right of appeal to the people.

Besides these communities there were those which had the Latin rights—and those which had the Italian rights. The incomplete rights of a city were known by different names: the Latin rights, where they comprised the greater portion of the rights of the city; the Italian rights, where they were more restricted. The Latins, neighbours of Rome, who had furnished her with auxiliary legions for a long time, naturally received the most important privileges; but they had neither political rights, nor the rights of marriage, nor the paternal authority, nor the power of inheriting from a Roman, nor the inviolability of the person. They had, however, the power of acquiring Roman citizenship under certain conditions; if they had filled a magistracy in their own city and had transferred their domicile to Rome. By degrees the most noble personages of the Latin towns obtained the city rights, thus increasing the number of Romans; and finally the Romans accorded these rights to the whole Latin country.

The Latin rights, which came next to the rights of Roman citizenship, in spite of their deficiencies, were eagerly coveted by the inhabitants and cities of Italy. The Latin rights were afterwards extended outside Latium, to both individuals and cities. In this way the territory whence Rome recruited her citizens increased, and all the most spirited and most ambitious inhabitants of the Italian towns exerted themselves to obtain entrance into the Roman city.

The Italian cities were thus raised a degree when they obtained the Latin rights, and it became customary for the Italians to acquire Latin rights before they attained Roman citizenship. No

doubt with regard to civil rights the Italians were treated like the Latins, but they differed from them through not having the facility of at once attaining the city rights. Besides, they were regarded as holders, not as owners, of their land, and more than once a powerful party at Rome demanded that a portion of the land which the Italians held under the aristocratic magnates of Rome should be distributed amongst the plebeians. The Italian allies then understood how important the title of citizen was to them, and their efforts culminated in the Marsic or Social war (B.C. 90). The Romans were successful in the field, but by the Lex Julia they conferred the franchise on the Etruscans and Umbrians, their allies, and two years later extended it to the confederated Italians.

Still their original condition had given rise to the new expression, the Italic rights, and these rights were applicable to the provinces situated outside Italy, as the Latin rights had been extended outside Latium.

*The Subject Populations.*—But the humiliating and painful position occupied by the subject populations is beyond question. Those who had been forced to surrender to the Roman people "their persons, their walls, their lands, their water, their houses, their temples, their gods," were governed by a Roman prefect, who was invested with arbitrary authority. The cities or the populations, whom they did not care to treat with caution, were at the mercy of their Roman governors. Foreigners and enemies, without political or private rights, they had no appeal against the exactions of the governors, unless a Roman citizen declared himself their patron and pleaded for them, for they were not able to bring an action against a Roman themselves.

The weight of this heavy yoke naturally excited a great desire to obtain at least the Italic rights, then the Latin rights, and whole countries eagerly sought by their obedience to merit admission into the Roman city.\*

*Rome and Carthage; the Punic Wars (264—146 B.C.).*—In the

\* The city rights were not extended to all the provinces until the publication of the celebrated edict, attributed to Caracalla, who reigned from 211 to 217 A.D.

beginning of the third century before the Christian era Rome; by that time mistress of Italy, excepting the valley of the Po, possessed a restricted but solid empire. Leaning upon the city of Rome as on a rock, it had gradually extended its territory, but took care never to gain territory without gaining fresh strength.

Military roads, wide, straight causeways, traversed Italy, joining the colonies to the mother city. The colonies formed a triple belt around the city; the subject towns were divided amongst themselves by the inequality of their condition, but all united to Rome by bonds of various kinds. Rome restrained and attracted, chastised and rewarded, shattered and raised the conquered populations. If necessary, the Roman army was numerically very large, for the number of her citizens had increased.\* It was especially her own, for it was always distinct from the allied troops. This army was both flexible and strong, available for every tactical or strategic combination, and for every necessity of the country. Her treasury was rich, for she had all the riches of Etruria, of Campania, of the Greek cities, at her mercy. In short, Rome possessed a compact empire entirely under her control, one of those empires which can resist repeated shocks, and which an enemy only strengthens in endeavouring to crush. But Rome could not extend her power outside Italy without coming in contact with the empire of Carthage, at that time financially more prosperous even than her own. Carthage ruled over the western Mediterranean. Enriched by commerce and possessing a considerable fleet, the Carthaginian republic appeared even more brilliant and more powerful than the Roman. But when examined more closely, we find that it was divided by factions; detested by its subjects, whom it oppressed; badly defended, because, through distrust of its subject towns, it had dismantled all the strong places on the north of Africa; badly

\* Towards the later days of royalty, the number of Roman citizens capable of bearing arms was counted at 30,000. Towards 338 B.C. they numbered 165,000. It is also certain that ten years previously, when Rome called out all her troops against Latium and the Gauls, she was able to put ten legions, or 50,000 men, into the field at the first levy. On the eve of the second Punic war Rome had at its disposal more than half a million of serviceable soldiers. (See Mommsen, book iii., chap. iv., page 101.)

served, because it had armies formed of mercenaries only. A city of commerce and capital, Carthage only possessed money, the sinews of war, and a powerful fleet.

The Romans, before their war with Carthage, seem never to have realized that they must become a maritime power. The opportunity, however, brought forth the men; and with a force of ships built on the model of a Carthaginian galley that had been cast away on the coast of Italy, manned with raw levies who had learned to row by exercising with oars on benches placed on dry land, Duilius, boarding the enemy's ships and bringing the battle to a hand-to-hand fight, routed the Carthaginians at Mylæ, B.C. 260, and splendidly initiated the progress of Rome as a naval power.

The first Punic war (264—241) left the Romans practically masters of Sicily and of the islands of the Mediterranean. The second (219—202), one of the most celebrated struggles of history, nearly issued in the destruction of Rome, through the genius of the great captain Hannibal. Having lost the empire of the sea the Carthaginians, thanks to Hamilcar, had greatly strengthened their position in Spain, and Hannibal, bent on carrying out his father Hamilcar's plans, with unparalleled daring and skill crossed the Pyrenees, traversed Gaul, effected the difficult passage of the Alps, and threw himself into Italy. He had but 20,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and 7 elephants left when he found himself at the Roman side of the Alps in Celtic Italy. He had expected active support from the Cisalpine Gauls, and the other old rivals and foes of Rome, but everywhere he was disappointed. Nevertheless he showed himself equal to the emergency. At the Ticinus, at the Trebia (218), at Lake Trasimenus (217), he defeated the hitherto victorious Romans with great slaughter. But Rome reaped the fruit of her policy of organization, for Hannibal found himself stopped by the thick belt of fortresses that protected the metropolis; and by the cautious defensive tactics of the Dictator Fabius, known as Cunctator, the Delayer, he was obliged to pass round Rome to descend into Apulia. But the dictatorship of Fabius expired, and the impatience of Terentius Varro, the plebeian consul, gave Hannibal the opportunity of inflicting a terrible defeat upon an

army that outnumbered him two to one, at Cannæ, on the borders of Apulia, B.C. 216. The army of Varro was practically annihilated, 45,000 according to the Romans, 70,000 according to the more trustworthy account of Polybius, having fallen in the battle and the flight. But Cannæ was 200 miles from Rome, and many Roman colonies and garrisons lay between. The Senate would not own to any fear, but went to meet Varro, and far from upbraiding him as the cause of their defeat, congratulated him "for not having despaired of the republic." Hannibal dared not advance on Rome with the inadequate forces and supplies at his disposal, and when at last, after allowing his troops to become enervated by the luxury and debauchery of winter quarters in Capua, he appeared before the city, his appearance was merely a feint to draw away the Roman forces from the blockade of Capua; he had neither men nor means to undertake the siege. The Senate was undismayed, and the ground where Hannibal was encamped was put up for sale, and found a purchaser. Rome defended herself by attack; she reduced Capua, and inflicted a terrible punishment upon its inhabitants. While she maintained the war in Italy she despatched legions to conquer Spain and Sicily from the Carthaginians; she crushed at the Metaurus the troops of Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, who had marched from Spain over the Alps to his assistance; and the head of his brother thrown into the lines of the Carthaginian general first informed him, at once, of the arrival and of the destruction of the army of Hasdrubal and of his own prospects of success. But Hannibal was the greatest captain of antiquity, and still maintained himself in Italy unsupported by Carthage, and now almost without hope of success. For fifteen years he held his ground, in a hostile country, against vastly superior forces; and once when Mago, another brother of Hannibal, sailed from Gades to North Italy with a view of raising the Gaulish tribes against Rome, a brighter prospect seemed again to dawn. But Mago's forces were checked by a Roman army, and almost immediately after he was recalled to defend Carthage against the attack of Scipio, while Hannibal, recalled for the same purpose, sailed from Crotona at last in 203 B.C.

• Scipio had carried the war into Africa and Carthage was at last obliged to risk her destiny on a single battle, and at Zama (202) the defeat of the Carthaginians, under Hannibal, ended at once the war and the rivalry of Carthage against Rome. The Romans destroyed the military and maritime power of Carthage, and though the great city still dragged on a maimed existence its final ruin was merely a matter of time.

*Conquest of the East.*—Rome treated King Philip of Macedon, who had sent 4,000 men to assist Hannibal at Zama, as she had treated Carthage, but with much less difficulty. After the defeat of the phalanx at Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.) by Flamininus, she liberated Thrace and Greece from Macedon, and undertook the protectorate of Greece. The submission of Macedon was then only a question of time, and Greece grew more and more disunited under the influence of Roman intrigue.

The protectorate of Greece led to the conquest of Syria. Antiochus, King of Syria, the most powerful of the States formed from the dismemberment of Alexander's empire, had seized a number of Greek cities in Asia Minor, and had advanced over the Hellespont to Greece. He speedily felt the weight of the Roman arm. He was utterly defeated at Magnesia (190 B.C.), and was obliged to give up Asia Minor. He had been advised and aided by the veteran Hannibal, who had planned a mighty coalition against Rome—an invasion of Italy from the East. And, in 188 B.C., at the court of Prusias, King of Bithynia, by the treachery of Prusias, but at the request of the Romans, died the great Carthaginian who single-handed had armed first the West and then the East against Rome, and had failed, in the West at any rate, simply through the selfish and short-sighted policy of the regnant aristocracy of his native city. But the Romans did not forget their habitual prudence. They did not settle themselves in Macedon, Greece, or Asia, but their envoys were everywhere. Rome became the universal arbitress of the East. She did not appear to seek any personal interest when she hastened the disintegration of the East in order to seize it. If she had annexed the East immediately after the Punic wars, she had not a sufficient number of men to retain it. Rome never dealt the



last blow until the moment when she saw the country was ripe for servitude and capable of being held without a great military force. She destroyed Carthage, B.C. 146, and with the ruin of Carthage ended all serious rivalry of any power with Rome. She sacked Corinth the same year (146 B.C.), reduced first Africa and then Greece to Roman provinces, and lastly Macedon (142 B.C.).

Towards the end of the second century before the Christian era Rome was mistress of the East; but she did not establish her rule with any security until after the wars in which she broke the power of Mithridates, King of Pontus (88—63 B.C.), and of the Kings of Armenia. Pompeius finally conquered Mithridates, after he had been defeated by Sulla and Lucullus, and after the destruction of this formidable enemy, the most resolute opponent that Rome had encountered since Hannibal, he organized Pontus, Cilicia, Syria, and Phœnicia as Roman provinces. He completed the organization of Asia, which in name ceased to be Greek and became Roman. The Romans thus became the real inheritors of the vast empire of Alexander.

*Conquest of the West.*—The conquest of the East chiefly displayed the politics and skill of the Romans, that of the West showed their military qualities. It required long efforts, numerous campaigns, enormous sacrifices of men to subdue the north of Italy, Spain, and Gaul. Rome, after the second Punic war, revenged herself upon the Cisalpine Gauls who had nourished and recruited Hannibal's army. She waged unmerciful war against the Boii, the Insubres, and the Cenomanni. The Boii sooner than yield emigrated towards the north. About fifty thousand of the Ligurians were transported into Samnium. Rome at last filled the north of the peninsula with her colonies, which she planted as far as the slopes of the Alps.

The war with Carthage had already given Spain to the Romans, but after winning the country from the Carthaginians it was necessary to wrest it from the Spaniards. A hardy, valiant race, aided by the innumerable rugged districts of their mountainous and rocky country, for more than fifty years they opposed a stubborn resistance to the Romans, and the struggle demanded a vast expenditure

of men and money. For a time the great Lusitanian leader, Viriathus, made head against the Romans, but perished by treachery, and Spanish independence ended soon afterwards in the smoking ruins of Numantia. Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, had to assume the command before this last stronghold of the Spaniards could be taken, and then the Numantians killed each other sooner than surrender to the Romans (B.C. 133).

An avalanche of northern barbarians—the Cimbri and the Teutones, the vanguard of those populations who afterwards inundated the south of Europe—swept over the Roman province of Gaul and prepared to invade Italy. Marius destroyed the Teutones at Aix (102 B.C.), the Cimbri at Vercellæ (101), and rescued Rome from all immediate danger.

The conquest of Gaul was practically commenced about forty years later, and was the work of Julius Cæsar. Cæsar began his work B.C. 58, completed the pacification of Gaul after an eight years' struggle, in which vast numbers of Gauls fell—a million, according to Plutarch—and in which Cæsar's army, recruited from the youth of Gaul, became a powerful instrument to serve the ambition of its leader.

*Results of these Conquests; Flow of Wealth to Rome; Luxury.*—These conquests had exercised a fatal influence over the internal state of the Roman republic, which in less than two centuries completely changed its economical and social conditions, and led to a political transformation.

The treasures of Carthage, Macedonia, Greece, Pergamus, Syria, and the products of the Spanish silver mines all flowed into Rome. Moderate, whilst they were uncertain of mastery, the Romans placed no limit on their avarice when the bondage of the conquered nations was complete. Consuls and proconsuls, prætors and quæstors, threw themselves on the conquered provinces like birds of prey. Whilst the ancient Romans had affected contempt for gold and luxury, these later Romans displayed the most shameful cupidity. Rome became the richest city in the world. Rich villas increased in number; sumptuous feasts, magnificent baths, immense gardens, beautiful carriages, and jewels became

common. Oriental luxury invaded Rome, which succumbed, charmed by the refinements of a material civilization which even the rude legionaries quickly learned to appreciate.

*The Slaves; Ruin of Free Labour; the Great Landowners.*—The continual foreign wars had given Rome a vast multitude of slaves. Prisoners taken in war were sold by the quæstors, with a crown on their heads, usually to the slave-dealers who accompanied the army. The general slave-trade also flourished, and the slave-market was under the jurisdiction of the ædiles. Slaves were employed in the house as domestic servants; also in the country as labourers, and in the towns as artisans. In the towns their duties were infinitely divided and multiplied by the growing luxury and the ingenious caprices of the rich. To possess a family of slaves meant to possess a very productive capital. They were the bakers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, jewellers, workers in wool, weavers, fullers, &c., of Rome. All worked either for the master alone, or for the public, for the master's profit. Under Augustus a single owner left at his death over four thousand slaves. Slaves acquainted with any art or business that brought in profit to their masters were highly esteemed—such as doctors, actors, readers, writers, bankers, and business men.

As wealth increased in the hands of a few, the soil of Italy was parcelled into *latifundia*, or vast estates, "and the slave following, as a necessary consequence, chased the free race from all parts of the country. The evil did not stop there; the slave replaced the free man in every detail of the farm direction or labour. To careful tillage an easier course was soon preferred which required less capital and where there was less risk of loss, and this the Romans believed they had found in the new system of pasturage. Pasturage took the place of tillage; the *latifundia* became deserts, where a few herdsmen and shepherds wandered with their masters' flocks and herds.

"The population driven from the country flocked into the towns, and particularly into Rome, where the allurements of the public distribution of corn attracted all the idle and all the necessitous in Italy. But these subsidies, heavily as they pressed

on the treasury, were insufficient for the maintenance of the ruined families. What was left for them? Manual labour. Probably free labour and handicrafts had never been entirely banished from the free class. But the people felt the competition of the slaves even in industrial occupations, and they also felt the degradation with which public opinion stamped all trades of the kind."\*

*Social Consequences; Disappearance of the Middle Classes.*—The prolonged wars had also seriously modified the social organization of Rome. Supported by the citizens, they had exhausted the class of men fitted for military service. No doubt Rome had acquired new citizens, but the older ones—those in whom lingered the manly virtues of the ancient race—gradually disappeared. Every day Rome lost some true Romans, left on the field of battle or buried by the roadsides in the East and the West. Those who survived had been retained so long under arms by the duration of these distant expeditions that they had lost the taste for work; those who had profited by pillage had passed into the class of wealthy citizens; those who had squandered their share of the booty fell back into the ranks of the proletarians, which had been considerably augmented, first because they did not go to war, and afterwards because a crowd of adventurers from all countries had flocked to Rome.

Although the patricians always preserved their *gentes*, the rich plebeians had also founded theirs, and wealth formed, between the nobles and the opulent plebeians, a powerful bond which was strengthened by family alliances. In reality there was no longer a nobility, but only a rich class. A plutocracy had succeeded to an aristocracy. The knights, the farmers of taxes, pillaged the provinces, and their rivalry with the patricians was merely that of corrupt politicians, each desirous of office for the opportunities of making money rapidly which office was able to bring. Below them there were immense numbers of poor, but the middle class which formerly interposed between the two no longer existed. Rome had reached the state of society that had ruined the Greek republics,

\* Levasseur, "Histoire des classes ouvrières."

the struggle between rich and poor, which could only end in the establishment of a tyranny.

*Moral Consequences ; Ruin of Religion ; Invasion of Greek Ideas.*

—The constant relations with Greece introduced by the conquest of Greece filled Rome with Greek rhetoricians, sophists, philosophers, artists, and doctors. The introduction of Hellenic deities in place of the ancient national gods went on rapidly, and mark the progress of disbelief in the national religion. Extravagant superstition issued, as it ever tends to issue, in scepticism. The invasion of Greek manners rapidly transformed the old Roman into a cosmopolitan type. Greek form as well as Greek ideas transformed and, it must be admitted, developed Latin literature. Greek luxury rapidly undermined the old stern Roman habits of business, and with them the old ideal of public duty. Oriental superstitions also followed the Greek philosophy, and the latter attracted the upper classes, whilst the former pleased the lower orders. With superstition came debauchery. In 186 B.C. Rome still retained some decency, and the better men regarded the shameful orgies of the Bacchanalian mysteries with horror.

*Efforts for the Regeneration of the Roman Republic ; the Gracchi ; Agrarian and Corn Laws.*—Cato had vainly endeavoured to stem the current that was carrying away the old customs, and to restore the ancient society.

Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, grandsons of Scipio Africanus through their mother Cornelia, undertook to reconstitute a middle class and to re-establish political equilibrium by raising the condition of the Roman commonalty. This Tiberius proposed to do by a wide measure of agrarian reform, which he brought forward as tribune of the people. The Roman people were quasi-masters of the universe, yet the masses which inhabited Rome had not one acre of land, and the nobles having converted their vast estates into pasturage, a few foreign slaves—Thracians, Africans, Iberians—constituted the population of the country parts of Italy. It was not because Rome had not reserved vast territories for herself at every fresh conquest. But these territories had been first rented, then usurped by the rich. Tiberius recalling the old law of Licinius Stolo (366 B.C.), which

limited to five hundred the number of acres of national domain land that each citizen could occupy, extended the amount to one thousand, but without satisfying the upper classes, who were all bitterly opposed to the agrarian law.

Tiberius and his brother, who were tribunes at an interval of ten years (183—123 B.C.), only desired that the land unjustly seized by the patricians should be given back, and that it should be divided amongst the poor citizens, who would then have returned to the provinces and created new centres of work and production, to the great advantage of Rome as well as of the provinces. But Tiberius met with violent and well-directed opposition, and was slain in a tumult between his supporters and the partizans of the nobles.

The fate of Tiberius did not discourage his brother, Gaius, who adopted and enlarged his views. Tiberius had aimed at the improvement in the condition of the people, Gaius aimed at a reconstruction of the polity of Rome. To the agrarian law he added a corn law, by which corn was distributed regularly among the poorer citizens. This was the beginning of those distributions which soon became a necessity. He also proposed that the soldiers' dress should be provided at the public expense, that military service should be diminished, and that the suffrage should be extended to the Latins and Italians. Lastly, he dealt a severe blow to the power of the senators by taking the tribunals from the senators and giving them to the knights. The patricians, in order to discredit him, bought up one of his colleagues, Livius Drusus, who always improved upon the proposals of Gaius and asked for more. At last Gaius made the mistake of leaving Rome to conduct a colony to Carthage; on his return he found that the popular temper had changed. He had incautiously given up his tribuneship, and with it his inviolability, and he perished in an attack directed by the Consul Opimius (121 B.C.). The patricians, freed from the Gracchi, remained masters, and the aristocracy still ruled the people, who at a later period regretted the heroes they had abandoned, and raised statues to the brothers.

*Change in the Army; Marius.*—The blood of the Gracchi was the

first blood shed in the civil wars. To use the expression of the French orator Mirabeau, "In dying, the last of the Gracchi threw a handful of dust towards heaven as though to invoke an avenger; from this dust Marius arose." A simple peasant from Arpinum, a rough soldier, Marius raised himself by his own courage and energy. A new man, as they then expressed it, he showed himself the bitter enemy of the nobles, although at first he had flattered them, and had even married a patrician. Popular with the people, Marius obtained the consulate and the direction of the war against the King of Numidia. He brought it to a successful close (B.C. 107—106). But to make an army of his own, and devoted to his personal interests, he had introduced a revolution of far-reaching importance, admitting the rabble of Rome into the Roman legions.

The Roman soldiers had for the future no other career than military service; war became a trade instead of being a duty. The soldiers would only acknowledge chiefs who gorged them with booty and were ready to secure them some land for their old age; they were soldiers of a man, not of the republic. For the future ambitious citizens found in the army a basis of support which enabled them to grasp the prizes of civic power.

Another innovation brought important results. The danger which Rome encountered during the prolonged invasion of the Cimbri and the Teutones determined the people to retain Marius in the consulate five times in succession. Marius became used to being master, and after having delivered Rome from her danger he even sought and obtained a sixth consulate. But a formidable rival was soon to confront him in the person of one of his own officers, P. Cornelius Sulla.

*Sulla; the Civil Wars; the Proscriptions.*—Sulla was a patrician. He had been a lieutenant under Marius, and had distinguished himself by his ability. When, afterwards, Rome was menaced by a revolt of the Italian population, Marius was rather dilatory in repressing the revolt, for he had formerly been a friend of the Italians. Sulla, who was charged with the command in this dan-

gerous war, rapidly brought it to a close, and obtained the consulate B.C. 88.

Sulla's strength was quickly seen in the rivalry for the command against Mithridates, King of Pontus (B.C. 88). Marius disputed the command of the army which was to be sent to the East. Sulla was chosen, and Marius, disappointed, stirred up the Italians, dissatisfied with their new citizenship. Sulla fled from Rome, but he fled to the camp and returned with six legions, and entered Rome as conqueror. A price was offered for the head of Marius, and the victor over the Cimbri with great difficulty found refuge in Africa.

Sulla's absence, when he had gone to fight against Mithridates, permitted the partizans of Marius to regain the ascendancy at Rome, and the old general returned at the head of an army of slaves and exiles. Marius took cruel vengeance upon his enemies. His satellites massacred all whom he pointed out; it is even said that he ordered them to kill every man he met whose salutation he failed to return. Complete master of Rome, he entered upon his seventh consulate; but he died the same year, whether by his own hand or naturally is not clear. His party reigned three years longer under the anarchic leadership of Cinna.

In B.C. 83 Sulla returned from the East, having crushed Mithridates and burning to avenge his partizans who had been murdered in Italy. His legions soon secured his supremacy in Rome, and he exacted fearful reprisals. The most bloody modern revolutions can give little idea of the horrible character of these proscriptions. Since the wealth of the proscribed was given to the murderers, they killed for the sake of the booty. Rome and Italy were inundated with blood; massacre and confiscation went on unchecked.

*Domination of the Aristocratic Party.*—Sulla reconstituted the republic in the interest of the aristocracy. He got himself appointed dictator without limit of time. He still claimed to support the Roman republic, and above all the power of the Senate. He restored to the senators the power of trial that he took from the knights; he weakened the tribuneship, ruined the power of the assemblies of Tribes and of Centuries; in short, he re-estab-



lished the government by the nobles, the oligarchy. Crushed in the struggle of parties, the ancient constitution gradually disappeared, although the ancient magistracies were maintained. After ruling absolutely three years, Sulla surprised the Roman world by abdicating his dictatorship. He was evidently tired of life, and besides he feared nothing, for he was surrounded by his veterans, and his partizans continued his work. He only survived a year, and then succumbed to the effects of debauchery (B.C. 78).

*The Servile Wars.*—The civil wars were renewed after the death of Sulla, for the partizans of Marius still held several provinces, Spain amongst others. A troop or family of gladiators began the revolt at Capua in Campania. These men were fed and carefully trained in order that they might provide amusement for the sovereign people by their fights in the arena. The gladiators, prisoners from all nations, chose as their leader a Thracian named Spartacus, a man with a real genius for war. The slaves crowded to join his army, which was soon strong enough to defeat the regular troops of Rome. Rome was in great danger, for the forces sent against Spartacus were defeated. But dissensions arose in the army of slaves, and Crassus, after a severe struggle, defeated them and Spartacus fell. But Pompeius, who had returned from Spain, where he had ended the war of Sertorius, met the last bands of gladiators and exterminated them.

*Pompeius.*—Pompeius, better known as Pompey, was a member of the equestrian order and a soldier of fortune. He rapidly made his reputation in the war in Spain against Sertorius, and afterwards by his repression of the Sicilian pirates. In forty days he cleared the Mediterranean of the hordes of pirates who, profiting by the late disorders, ravaged all the shores, carrying off thousands of captives. He enhanced his fame by giving the last blow to Mithridates, who was already prostrate. He carried the arms of Rome victoriously to the Euphrates, and became the most illustrious man in the republic, and was apparently the leader for whom the wave of monarchical tendency had waited to carry him forward on its crest.

During the absence of Pompeius from Rome disorders recommenced. A man overwhelmed by debt and crime, L. Sergius

Catiline, had conspired with a number of debauched and reckless adventurers, to whom he promised the pillage of Rome and of Italy (B.C. 63). Baffled by the prudence and firmness of Cicero the orator, this conspiracy still indicated a moral disorder, which increased even under Pompey's rule. In fact, that general, although supported by the aristocracy, was content to be the first in Rome without making his power felt; he wished to respect the institutions and to allow the Senate to govern; but his moderation amounted to weakness, Rome was continually troubled by factions, and the moral decay went on.

Pompey did not feel himself strong enough to stand alone, and associated himself with Crassus, the wealthiest of the Romans, and Julius Cæsar, the most able and popular man of the time, whose projects no one had then been able to discover; this was the first triumvirate (B.C. 60), and proved advantageous only to the most daring and brilliant of the three, Julius Cæsar.

*Julius Cæsar.*—A scion of an ancient and illustrious family, who traced their descent back to the Trojan Æneas, or even to the gods, he wasted his youth and his fortune in pleasure, and owed about two millions when he began his public career, but soon restored his fortune by his alliance with Crassus and his government in Spain.

Anxious to equal and even to surpass Pompey, when the provinces were divided he claimed Gaul, and resolved to acquire by the subjection of the Gauls, who had formerly been the terror of Rome, the glory, the army, and the money, which were all necessary to him for the accomplishment of his projects. During eight years the victories of the young debauchee astonished and delighted Rome, where Pompey was feebly struggling against anarchy. The Romans were continually ascending the Capitol to render thanks to the gods for these successes. Moreover, from his youth Cæsar had always joined himself to the popular side. He had replaced the broken statues of the conqueror of the Cimbri. When Crassus had perished in a mad expedition against the Parthians there was no longer an intermediary capable of arresting the conflict between Pompeius and Cæsar.

On the 15th of January (B.C. 49) Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his government. He had but six thousand men with him, and his opponent had three times the number; yet, so unprepared were the party of Pompeius, that with their leader at their head they retired from Rome as Cæsar advanced upon it. The victory of Pharsalia (48) in Thessaly and the death of Pompeius, basely assassinated by the emissaries of the Egyptian Government from whom he sought shelter at Pelusium, gave Cæsar the headship of Rome, and the victory of Thapsus (46), in Africa, completed the dispersion of the Pompeians. The Roman world was so vast that the civil war had spread to its extreme limits. Cæsar had been obliged, in order to complete his victory, to include an immense circle in his march—from Gaul to Macedonia and Greece, from Greece to Asia, from Asia to Egypt; then to the province of Africa, then to Rome, and finally to Spain, where, at Munda (B.C. 45), he destroyed the last remnant of his opponents. Skilful in taking advantage of the revolts of the populations who endeavoured to profit by the civil war in order to throw off the Roman yoke, he did not appear to fight except for the glory and dominion of Rome. He celebrated five triumphs, each more magnificent than the other.

*Transformation of the Republic; Dictatorship of Cæsar.*—During the eighty years before Cæsar crossed the Rubicon the tendency to monarchy which had set in had become continually stronger; the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus, the consulships of Marius, the dictatorship of Sulla, had prepared the way, for each had exercised during his period of power a complete autocracy. The monarchical restoration was inevitable, and the propitious hour found the one man competent to seize it in Julius Cæsar. Cæsar's accession to power was hailed as the advent of peace and security by thoughtful men as well as by the mass of the well-to-do citizens, for whom the oligarchy meant repeated proscription and massacre. The foreign subjects of the republic were equally well disposed to a monarchy, and to Cæsar at its head. Cæsar was regarded by them as their champion. He had extended the franchise to the Cispadane Gauls and those beyond the Po, and even those beyond the Alps expected the same favour at his hands. He was the great advocate of that

large and liberal policy which culminated, under Caracalla, in the edict by which the citizenship of Rome was conferred upon all\*.

The provinces particularly were devoted to the great liberal leader. Tired of the proconsuls who robbed them, and of the civil wars that devastated them, they demanded that a strong power should be established at Rome, since they had adopted Rome as their country. Cæsar, too, understood how to secure their attachment by associating them as closely as possible to the Roman life. He opened the Senate to strangers, even to Gauls, paying no attention to the hostile criticism which jestingly forbade the citizens to show the new senators the way to the Curia. Cæsar was, in fact, preparing to mould the whole Roman world into a vast monarchy under equal laws.

Cæsar, however, alone knew the projects he had formed for the amelioration of the affairs of the world, of which he was the head and centre. The patricians could not resign themselves to the sacrifice of the old oligarchic power, and Cæsar was assassinated, the victim of a conspiracy. Stabbed by Brutus, Cassius, and their fellow-conspirators, he fell in the Senate-house at the foot of the statue of Pompey, on the Ides of March (B.C. 44).

*Antony and Octavius; End of the Roman Republic.*—The causes which had led to the concentration of power in one man's hands had penetrated so widely and so deeply into the Roman people that the monarchy survived Cæsar. His murderers had neither plan nor system. They did not know how to use their victory, and were soon driven from Italy by Antonius, Cæsar's friend, and Octavius, his nephew. They lost on the plains of Philippi, in Macedonia, in two pitched battles, at an interval of twenty days, the last battles of Roman liberty (B.C. 42).

A second triumvirate was formed, in imitation of the first, between Antonius, Octavius, and Lepidus, a union cemented by fresh proscriptions. Octavius did not scruple to sacrifice his rela-

\* Amongst the numerous smaller achievements that we have not space to describe we must mention the important reform of the calendar, called after him the Julian Calendar. It was regulated by the movements of the sun, and the year was fixed at 365 days.

tives and friends, and even abandoned Cicero to the vengeance of Antonius. Octavius had all Cæsar's ambition, but he added to it a great talent for dissimulation. Instead of claiming the power as an inheritance from his uncle, he shared it with Antonius and Lepidus. The latter was soon deprived of his position and command, and the Roman world was divided between Antonius, who took the East, and Octavius, who governed the West.

But a monarchy was inevitable. The shameful corruption of Antonius, who had yielded to the blandishments of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, simplified the solution of the problem. The East endeavoured to retain its autonomy, and defended Antonius, who had adopted its customs; but the wretched pusillanimity of Antonius, degraded by Eastern debauchery, even more than the activity of Octavius, quickly destroyed the resistance of the East. At Actium (B.C. 31), in the midst of the battle and with fair prospect of victory, Antonius left all to follow the flight of Cleopatra's vessel, abandoning the empire of the world for the sake of a woman—a type of the East ruined by its indolence, and thus subjected to the more vigorous and determined West.

The moderation and prudence of Octavius completed what the genius of Antonius had begun. Octavius returned to Rome (B.C. 29), and celebrated a triple triumph. He laid aside the extraordinary powers of the triumvirate and carefully avoided that grasping at the regal title which had led to the death of his uncle. He joined in himself the military command with the title of Imperator, to the power of the censor without the title. He was also Princeps, or first in the Senate; he also acquired the *Potestas consularis*, or consular power, and without the title the *Potestas Tribunicia*, or power of the tribunate. After the death of Lepidus he assumed the dignity of Sovereign Pontiff, and thus combined in himself the instruments of patrician and plebeian power. Finally he took the title of Augustus, a title never before given to man, but associated with the gods and with religion. Ostensibly he was the first citizen of the republic, really he was the absolute king of the Roman world.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### ROMAN SOCIETY UNDER THE EMPIRE.

**SUMMARY:** The Roman Empire; Cæsarism—The Imperial Apotheosis—The Law of Majesty or Treason—The Imperial Administration; the Provinces—Roman Peace—Roman Society; the Aristocracy—The Plebs at Rome and in the Provinces—Work under the Empire—Luxury—Stoicism: Roman Women—The Circus and the Combats of the Gladiators.

**NOTES:** The Informers—State Workshops under the Empire—The Ancients at Table—A Roman House.

*The Roman Empire; Cæsarism.*—We must free ourselves from modern ideas if we are to picture to ourselves the state of the world when civilization was conterminous with the Roman empire. The title even of Imperator, commander-in-chief, by which Augustus and his successors were designated, was not new, and neither by him nor by them was it assumed in ordinary intercourse with their subjects. Augustus Cæsar and his successors made no endeavour to define their power by any expression; they were proud to adopt the name of Cæsar, and this title describes their position most correctly, since they were the political heirs of Cæsar. Cæsarism is the true title of this power, which was unlimited because it was undefined, transmissible without being hereditary, impalpable in theory, formidable in reality, variable according to the temperament of those who wielded it, and which was only clearly ascertained after an existence of three centuries.

Augustus was master at Rome, though he was studiously careful not to appear so. He never forgot the lesson taught him by the death of the great Julius, that in openly grasping the kingly diadem there was grave danger. He lived in a plain house on the Palatine Hill with less luxury than many of the rich citizens.

saluted his friends in the street, where he walked with no more than the ordinary retinue of a Roman gentleman, and all his life he carefully avoided showing any of the pride of royalty. The Senate assembled, the Comitia met at the legal periods, the magistrates discharged their duties. The old liberty seemed still alive, but it was only the form that remained.

For with all this outward show of moderation Augustus grasped the sceptre of real power. He held, as we have seen, the combined power of chief of the Senate, consul, proconsul, tribune, censor, supreme pontiff, perpetual commander-in-chief of the army.

*The Imperial Apotheosis.*—Religion also came to the support of the imperial power. Yet the Romans had never been disposed, like the Greeks, to deify men. After Romulus, Julius Cæsar was the first to whom they paid almost divine honours. Augustus while living was honoured in the provinces as a god, and the cities of Gaul erected a temple to him at Lyons. After his death temples, priests, and holy observances were decreed in honour of the Divine Augustus, and from this time the apotheosis of dead emperors became a recognised institution.

*The Law of Majesty or Treason.*—The crime of majesty was first defined by Saturninus, in B.C. 108, to guard and swell the dignity of the tribunate. An attack on the prerogatives of the tribune was declared to be an attack on the dignity of the commonwealth, and therefore treason against the State. Sulla restricted the law to hostilities against the existing constitution. Augustus extended it to the publication of attacks calculated to bring the ruler into contempt. Tiberius first made the person of the Emperor the great object to be guarded by the law of majesty. The Emperor became a being to be revered and feared, and an attempt on his life was regarded as sacrilege against a divinity. To inquire into the years of the Emperor was treason; to utter abusive words against him was no less. Representing themselves as personifications of the Roman people, the emperors found in this law an expedient by which they could strike those whom an imprudent speech, or a silence that could be interpreted as factious, pointed out as enemies to the prince, and so constructively to the people.

Never was confusion of words and persons so greatly abused. So sweeping and undefined a law imperilled the security of all. It encouraged and fostered the system of information, or delation, as it was called, and the delators or informers became a class in the State.\* No private life was safe from their perfidious inquiries, which were made amongst the slaves. "Thus," writes Tacitus, "the consternation and alarm that reigned at Rome

\* *The Informers.*—The law decreed that the informer should receive a quarter of the goods belonging to the condemned, but this sum was often exceeded when the victim was a person of importance. After the condemnation of Thræsea and Soranus the chief informers each received five million sesterces (one million francs), and by these means scandalously large fortunes were quickly acquired. Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus earned at this trade three hundred million sesterces (sixty million francs). The Emperor was not satisfied with repaying their services by money, he also lavished upon them all the State dignities. After each important case there was a distribution of prætorships and edileships. These ancient republican dignities served as a price for shameful compliance. Nothing, according to Tacitus, was a greater offence to honest people than to see the informers "displaying the sacerdotal offices and the consulate, as though they were spoils taken from the enemy." At the end of Tiberius' reign men only became consul when they had ruined one of Caesar's enemies. And under Domitian it was the shortest road by which public dignities could be attained.

In this way, towards the time of Tiberius, informers issued from all ranks of this corrupt society. Seneca tells us, "That on every side there was a mania for informing which emptied Rome more quickly than a civil war." Nothing is richer in contrasts than the group of informers that Tacitus describes to us; every social rank and position are represented in it.

By the side of this crowd of smaller people—slaves, freedmen, soldiers, schoolmasters—we also find the names of a few of the old nobility, a Dolabella, a Scaurus, and even a Cato. There were bold cynical informers, who prided themselves on defying public opinion, who made honest men blush and were proud of doing so, who boasted of their great deeds and claimed glory for them. There were informers belonging to the lower classes, who commenced by the vilest functions, and who having reached wealth and power always retained something of their origin, like Vatinius, whom Tacitus calls one of the monstrosities of Nero's court. He was formerly a cobbler, and owed his fortune to the buffoonery of his mind and the deformities of his body. And lastly, there were elegant informers, who piqued themselves on their distinction and fine manners, and who gracefully asked for a man's death. One day an informer of this class appeared before the Senate, dressed in the latest fashion, a smile upon his lips; he came to accuse his father.—*G. Boissier, "Études des Mœurs Romaines sous l'Empire."*



were unequalled. Men trembled before their nearest relations, they dared neither approach nor speak to each other; known or unknown, every ear was suspected. Even mute and inanimate objects inspired fear." In the midst of the universal peace of the empire abroad this government by terror went on at home.

*The Imperial Administration; the Provinces.*—Although political unity had so far prevailed in the world that it was incarnate in the person of one man, we must not suppose that it involved complete centralization.

The provinces differed one from the other in their rights and relations to the metropolis. The duties of the proconsul or governor were a general superintendence and the duty of assessing the taxes. He did not interfere in the details of the administration, which were entirely left to the magistrates of the city. The maintenance of the roads, buildings, and temples was left in charge of the towns themselves, and for the purpose valuable assistance was received from the liberality of rich citizens. A generous emulation incited the magistrates, who were elected annually, or whose appointments were at all events temporary, to leave material proof of their zeal for their city's welfare. Besides, the inscriptions have now proved that the provinces had some proportion of political rights; their deputies held assemblies, where complaints could be heard, and their delegates had a right to lay these appeals before Cæsar.

*Roman Peace.*—Under Augustus a long peace succeeded the centuries of desperate conflict with equal adversaries, of civil war and tumult; there was fighting on the frontiers, but the "*Pax Romana*," as it was called, extended over the whole Roman world. War had been the characteristic of previous centuries. Peace distinguished the time of Augustus; at any rate, for the forty-four years of his reign peace and the arts of peace flourished, commerce developed, and wealth and population increased.

Gaul, almost savage in Cæsar's time, had attained a state of wealth that all historians and monuments confirm. Trajan colo-

nized the lower valley of the Danube, and the descendants of these colonists form the six million Roumanians who in our days have founded a kingdom south of the Carpathian mountains. Civilization was thus ascending towards Central Europe.

Africa continued to be the granary of Rome, and the Romans carried their civilization even to the confines of the desert.

In Asia Minor, a country since ruined by centuries of stupid oppression, five hundred cities were then prosperous. Greek civilization flourished freely under the shadow of the Roman eagles, planted on the mountains of Armenia and the shores of the Euphrates.

*Roman Society; the Aristocracy.*—The establishment of the empire had changed the conditions of the different classes, without suppressing any. Decimated by civil war, and later on by executions, the old patrician aristocracy was almost extinct towards the time of Claudius and Nero, and the haughty descendants of the ancient families who had been unwilling to degrade themselves by cowardly adulation, had been either forced to open their veins, or given up to the executioner and dragged to the Gemonian stairs. But a new aristocracy had been formed, or rather a plutocracy, created by wealth. Those who had exercised the senatorial functions formed the foundation of noble or senatorial families. This nobility was also found in the provinces. Great wealth enabled its possessor to aspire to the title of Knight, and even to enter the Roman senate. These nobles formed a superior caste, exempt from the corporal penalties which fell upon the rest of the people who composed the social fabric.

*The Plebs at Rome and in the Provinces.*—Rome, the centre of the universe, contained a population of mixed nationalities, and of a number variously estimated from 700,000 to over 1,000,000. This population, which had led to the ruin of the republic, required to be fed and amused. Augustus boasted in his will of his liberality; he caused large sums to be distributed (800 or 400 sesterces per head) to 250,000 of the mob, in addition to the distributions of corn. The plebs, or city mob, were also continually kept amused by religious festivals and by the combats of gladiators

and athletes, or by sham naval fights on artificial lakes. This idle yet much-considered populace could find no fault with the vices of their masters, who were forced to be doubly generous as they became more severe.

The same system reigned in the provinces. There also the plebs were fed. The budget of each city included the *annona* or the distribution of food, and besides this there was the claim of clients on their patrons. The rich were themselves obliged to give, as it were, a ransom for their fortunes by distributing to a mob of clients, who came every morning to salute them, *sportulæ* (baskets of provisions), or, in lieu of these, money.

*Work under the Empire.*—Such a social system was very unfavourable to free labour. The slave labour offered too serious a competition. The slave, riveted to his task, accomplished it without seeking to improve it, or to perfect an industry by which he was unable to profit. The Romans were indeed very advanced in industrial production, but it had probably made no progress since the time when they had received it from the East. Free labour, however, tried to seize a place by the side of slave labour; and guilds or corporations were formed protected by privileges. But the old discredit attached to manual labour pursued the workmen, who were bound to their corporations and to their trades: it was the beginning of the obstacles which impeded labour in the Middle Ages and even down to modern times.

The State also, to supply the wants of the numerous legions which it was obliged to support, commenced to manufacture. Under the Emperors, manufactures not only of arms, but of everything that could supply the necessities of the State, were organized.\*

\* *State Workshops under the Empire.*—Each workshop received a certain weight of raw material which was to be clearly accounted for, and every year it rendered to the Emperor's delegates a fixed quantity of manufactured articles proportioned to the number of workmen.

Absolute slaves of the workshop, the workmen had no means of extricating themselves from their miserable condition. They were branded on the arm with a red-hot iron; and since the clothes might conceal this stigma, the Emperor's name was also imprinted upon their hands. If they fled, it was very

*Luxury.*—In the first century, before the great families had had



Elegant young Roman  
under the Empire.

time to dissipate the produce of the rapine committed in the last days of the republic, the luxury was absolutely insatiable. The nobles, no longer venturing to occupy themselves with public affairs, devoted all their energies to material enjoyment.

They prided themselves upon imitating the mad prodigality which, in the last days of the republic, had won for Crassus and Lucullus more fame than their military expeditions. The parvenus,

particularly those who through informations or by insidiously gaining testamentary legacies (another shameful but lucrative industry) had accumulated millions, sought to dazzle the world by unheard-of display. Their immense fish-ponds nourished the most delicate species of fish, their aviaries enclosed peacocks and flamingos reserved for their tables. The details which have been handed down to us respecting the gluttony of the Romans, show us that they swept as it were sea and land to provide for their feasts, which were most carefully arranged.

Resting on the triclinium\* placed near the tables which were difficult for them to escape the active search of the imperial officers or to find an asylum. The law punished any one who hid them in his house with a fine of three to five pounds of gold; occasionally, if the fugitive were an armourer, it condemned them and their children to become workers in the same factory. As a rule, this slavery lasted as long as life itself. "It is necessary," said Constantine, "that the workers in the mint should remain in the same position, and that they should not be freed through the interference of any dignitary." Men employed in transport had not even the power of passing into another department of the public service; and the more the empire weakened, the harsher and more insolent the law became. One law decreed that the armourers "ought to be so completely subordinate to their trade that, though exhausted by work, they with their families ought still to continue in the profession to which they were born, until their last breath."—*Levasseur*.

\* *The Ancients at Table.*—A triclinium was the union of three couches so placed that they formed three sides of a square, with an empty space in the midst for the table, and an open side to enable the slaves to bring

loaded with viands, more appreciated for the money they had cost than for their quality, the rich Roman passed whole days or nights in orgies which under the influence of the heady Italian wines were often very noisy. Such rich banquets were sure to attract parasites, who were therefore as numerous in Rome as in Greece.

The simplicity of the Roman costume did not allow any great luxury of dress amongst the men, who were merely enveloped in the toga. The fineness and softness of the material, the purple band for the magistrates, the number of togas dyed in every shade of

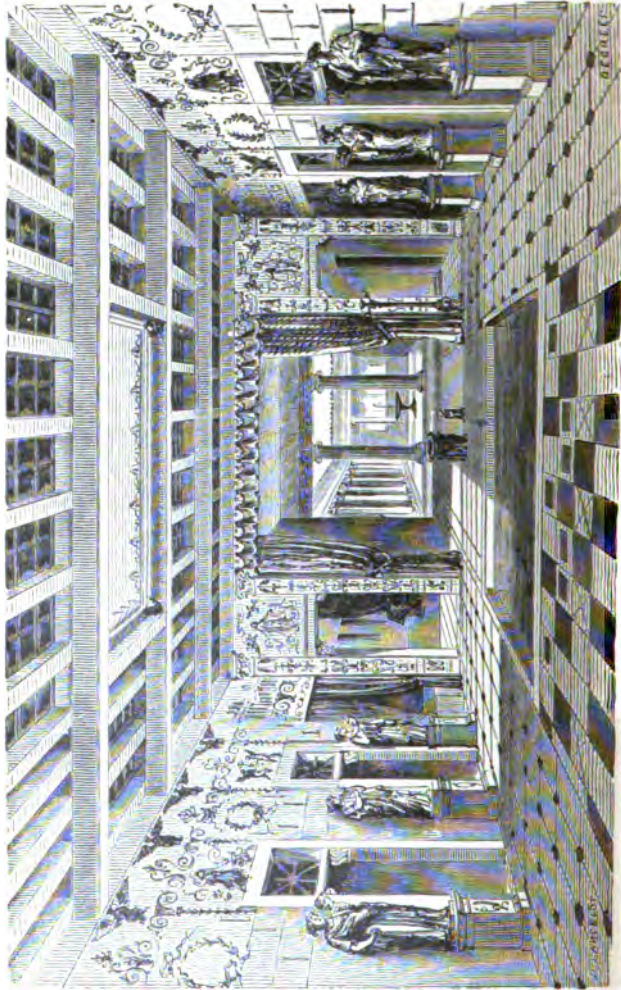


A triclinium.

purple made the only difference between the rich and poor. But this simplicity, which was also impressed upon the women's clothes, for they were equally uniform, did not prevent the latter from inventing all kinds of devices for adorning their dress. Silk, which was brought from India, and sold for its weight in gold, as well as materials interwoven with gold and silver threads, enhanced the beauty of the fashionable Roman women, who also adorned themselves with a profusion of pearls and emeralds. Lollia Paulina, for instance, at one time possessed jewels that were worth more than forty millions of sesterces. The Roman

the trays on which the dishes were arranged. A triclinium was usually prepared for the reception of nine persons, three on each couch, but this number was not always adhered to.

women were also extremely skilful in repairing, by the use of oint-



Restoration of the Interior of a Roman House.

ments, painting, and other borrowed charms, the ravages of time.

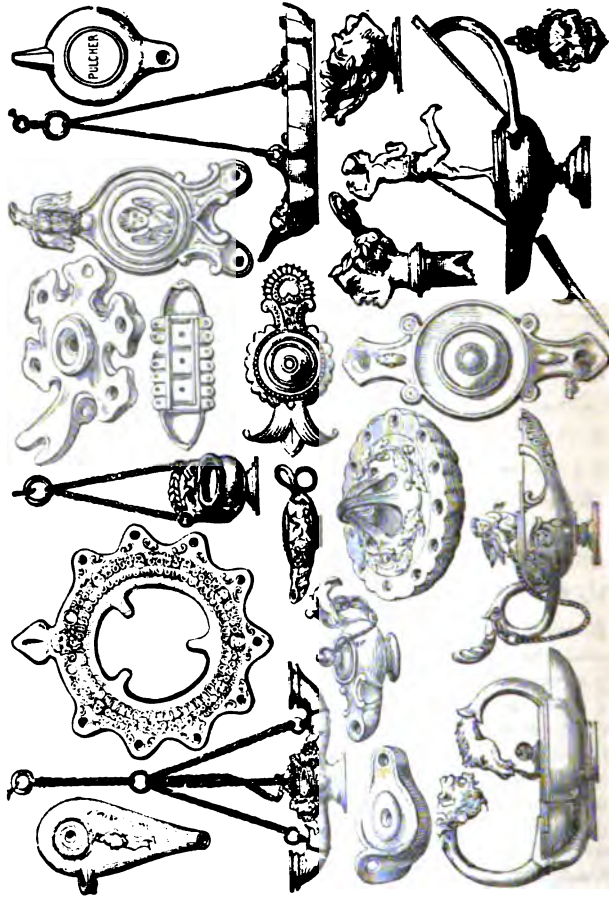
The Romans displayed their luxury chiefly in their dwellings.\* Not only did the emperors own vast palaces, but the rich citizens prided themselves on possessing immense houses, ornamented with marble statues, mosaics, paintings, and precious vases, cooled by falling fountains, having also thermæ for bathing, and the palæstra for bodily exercise. They had, in short, an immense series of rooms, full of light and air, decorated and enlivened by the most varied colours. Then there were villas on rustic sites at the sea-side at Baiae, surrounding the lovely Bay of Naples, which at that time was frequented by a numerous and elegant society.

But this high civilization was counterbalanced by slavery, cruelty towards the slaves, whom one rich Roman, we are told, used to throw to the eels in his fish ponds, superstitions imported from the East, debauchery of every kind, the most utter degradation, the consequence of unbridled materialism. Such is the picture of Roman society at the time when the empire was founded, and as such the satiric and licentious poets have depicted it.

*Stoicism ; the Roman Women.*—We must not, however, exaggerate the picture. We learn from the unprejudiced writers, that there still remained many families where mental culture was more appreciated than material pleasures, where poetry and eloquence were enjoyed, and philosophy discussed. In the first century the men who earnestly embraced the severe doctrines of Stoicism, were numerous

• *A Roman House.*—The distinguishing characteristic of the Roman house is to be found in the two courts, the atrium and the peristyle, separated from each other by a large room, the tablinum, which served as a gallery for the family pictures, as a library for the archives, sometimes even as a dining-room. The tablinum was usually closed by a drapery at the back, a door, and sometimes even by a wall ; one or two small passages (fauces) led one from the other. The atrium was the public room, and in some degree the ante-room of the house. There was no other room attached to it except the tablinum and the alæ (literally the wings), where the patron received his clients. The court could also serve as an audience hall, four roofs placed shedwise sheltered it almost entirely, only leaving the central part uncovered, and here the rain water fell into a basin called the impluvium. The peristyle was the private portion of the house, the family dwelling ; it usually consisted of a garden surrounded by a colonnade forming a porch, around which opened the cubicula, the triclinium, and the bed-rooms, the dining-room and the drawing-room ; the latter facing the tablinum, was placed at the end of the peristyle.

in Rome ; from these doctrines they derived the necessary energy to encounter the dangers which at that time were inseparable from



Objects found in Pompeii.

virtue. Thrasea was one of the most celebrated of these practical Stoics, and some, like him, sacrificed life itself to the sentiment of human dignity and virtue.



If Imperial Rome has been dishonoured by the Messalinas, whose name has become a byword, she can happily be also credited with a still greater number of women who had all the virtues and few of the defects of the "blue stockings." The inscriptions on the tombs, in their simplicity, and even in their naïveté, reveal—if we put on one side those where too much emphasis inspires doubts of their sincerity—how much genuine affection and reciprocal fidelity existed in Roman households. Pliny the Younger has left us a record of the excellence and charm of his wife, Calpurnia, who was assiduous in her attendance at the public addresses or readings given by her husband, and who displayed the warmest emotion at his success. Even in the imperial palace we can recall Octavia Agrippina, widow of Germanicus, Plotina, wife of Trajan, &c., without naming the heroines who showed, as in the time of the republic, that courage and devotion are not the attributes of men exclusively, but that they also inspire women.\*

*The Circus and the Combats of the Gladiators.*—One of the passions shared by almost the whole of Roman society, honourable and dishonourable, was the love of the circus and the gladiatorial combats that now appear so dreadful to us. The Greeks had always considered blood-shedding at the public games objectionable, but the Romans took a delight in it, and to these shows may be traced not uncertainly the hardening of the heart and conscience of the masses of the people. Italy, Gaul, and Spain were filled with amphitheatres, where well-fed, well-trained gladiators met to fight. These games also served for the execution of criminals, who were thrown to wild beasts. The gladiators appeared before the imperial box and saluted the occupant: *Ave Cæsar! morituri te salutant* ("Hail, Cæsar! those who are about to die salute you"). The mangled bodies remained in the arena, and were only dragged off with hooks at the end of the games. The hopelessly wounded were killed;

\* Arria, the wife of Cæcina Paetus, who was condemned to death by Oclaudius, A.D. 42, would not survive him, but, stabbing herself, handed the dagger to him, saying, "It does not hurt, Paetus!" Epicharis, after steadfastly enduring the torture rather than yield the names of the confederates in a conspiracy against Nero, fearing that her strength might give way, deliberately killed herself.

frequently the vanquished combatant was dispatched by the victor by order of the crowd, who gave the signal by a simple upward movement of the thumb (*pollice verso*).<sup>\*</sup> This thirst for blood denotes what a fiend of cruelty was hidden in this polished and elegant society, which was at the same time outwardly refined and inwardly barbarous.

<sup>\*</sup> The signal to spare the vanquished was given by turning the thumb down (*pollice presso*), which was a signal to put back the sword in its sheath. Gérôme's celebrated picture has widely circulated the opposite meaning.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### LATIN LITERATURE AND ART.

**SUMMARY:** Latin Literature, First Period; Literature under the Republic—Comedy: Plautus, Terence—Epic and Didactic Poetry: Lucretius—The Oratory of the Republic: Cicero—History: Nepos, Sallust, Cæsar—The Augustan Age—History: Livy—Epic Poetry: Virgil—Lyrical and Narrative Poetry: Horace, Ovid, &c.—Latin Literature in the two first Centuries of the Empire: Juvenal, Lucan, Tacitus, &c.—Rhetoric: the Senecæ, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger—The Jurists—The First Encyclopædia: Pliny the Elder—The Novelists: Petronius, Apuleius.—The Arts of Rome: Architecture—Sculpture—Painting—The Empire at the end of the Second Century.

#### *Latin Literature, First Period; Literature under the Republic.*

—Of Latin indigenous literature there are the scantiest notices and remains. The existing literature almost wholly owed its origin to the influence of the literature of Greece. Accordingly, Latin civilization was highly advanced long before it had a literature worthy of the high position of the Latin race. Latin literature, it has been well said, does not begin with ballads. Its true cradle is the theatre and the school.

The first Latin playwright, and at the same time the first school-master who taught Greek literature, was a native of Tarentum, Titus Livius Andronicus.\* He came to Rome as a slave, and after obtaining his liberty worked as a schoolmaster and an actor. Ennius, the father of Roman poetry, also a native of Magna Græcia, translated or adapted tragedies from the Greek.† Tragedy passed from the hands of Ennius to his sister's son, Pacuvius. In him and in Accius,‡ who succeeded him, Roman tragedy ran its brief course. Though there were plenty of Roman gentlemen who wrote tragedies as an exercise and amusement, tragedy after Accius died out of Roman literature.

\* In the third century, towards 220 B.C. † Q. Ennius, 240—169 B.C.

‡ L. Accius, born towards 170 B.C., died towards 86 B.C.

*Comedy: Plautus, Terence.*—Comedy was a more national form of art. The traditional comic drama was indigenous in Italy. Though employed by Andronicus and Nævius in their translations or adaptations of Greek plays, comedy found its first popular and powerful exponents in Plautus and Terence. Plautus,\* the most celebrated comic poet of Rome, was an Umbrian, and is reported to have earned his living as worker in a mill at Rome. Plautus does not paint life at large. He confines himself chiefly to the discord produced in families by the passions of the young. The slave who helps the lover is sympathetically and skilfully drawn. The women of Plautus are more generous and kindly than might be expected. The Roman matron, however, is severely handled. Matrons were not among the audience at the theatre, and so were safe game. Moreover, the law of property gave such power to wives who brought a dowry that the comic writer was sure of general approval. The strict and the indulgent old men bring forward two views of the way to treat youth, and Plautus is always on the side of indulgence. All Plautus's stories are farcical. The *Menæchmi*, perhaps the best story, turns on mistaken identity and is well known in Shakespeare's adaptation. The *Amphitruo* was brilliantly imitated by Dryden. The *Trinummus* is the oldest version of the legend of the "Heir of Lynne." Twenty comedies by Plautus have been preserved. Many of his plays, if not all, are founded on Greek models.

Terence, born at Carthage,† of mixed African and Roman descent at first a slave, afterwards set free, found a protector and admirer in the younger Scipio Africanus and other nobles of the time. He has only left us six comedies adapted from the Greek; more refined and elegant than those of Plautus, but far less strong. The *ingénues* and the rogues are the best characters in his plays, of which the *Andria* and the *Adelphi* are among the most celebrated.

Of the next stage of literary comedy at Rome we know little. Its chief representative was Afranius, who lived a generation after Terence. The common elements of Greek and Latin life had been treated, with Greek characters, and in Greek surroundings, by Pla-

\* T. Maccius Plautus, 254—183 B.C.

† P. Terentius Afer, 192—159 B.C.

tus and Terence; it remained to Afranius to treat the same subjects with Latin characters, to transfer the scene from Greek towns to Latin. His works have not come down to us; and from this time literary comedy may be said to have died out completely.

*Epic and Didactic Poetry: Lucretius.*—Epic poetry also made an effort to appear in the time of the republic, with Nævius,\* who wrote in Saturnian verse and recorded the origin of Rome and her achievements in the first Punic war. The "Annals" of Ennius, an historical poem, a rough but vigorous composition, obtained their author the reputation of being the father of Latin literature.

The great work of Lucretius,† "De Rerum Naturâ," although ranked as philosophic poetry, and written for a distinct scientific purpose, is really inspired by the epic spirit. A fervent follower of Epicurus, Lucretius endeavoured to explain the origin of the world and the progress of life on his principles, and his thought is fresh, vigorous, and earnest. He marks an epoch in versification. His lines have a flow and power not to be found in those of any of his predecessors. He had a keen eye for natural phenomena, and a warm appreciation of the beauty of nature.

Catullus,‡ the most original as well as one of the greatest of the greater Latin poets, stands almost alone in more than one particular. He was a great original metrist, as may be seen in his hendecasyllables, the earliest in Latin literature, and in the galliambics of his "Attis." He, first of Romans, understands and expresses the passionate love of man for woman. In this Propertius comes far behind him, and even in conceiving and portraying the passion of woman for man, the Ariadne of Catullus preceded the Dido of Virgil. The "Epithalamium" of Mallius is probably his best work, always excepting his charming lyrics to Lesbia. The "Attis" is a wonderful poem; the lines beginning, "Patria O mea creatrix, patria O mea genetrix," give the keynote to Lord Tennyson's "Ænone."

*The Oratory of the Republic: Cicero.*—Under the republic, oratory was the chief glory of Latin literature. The contests in the Forum had at an early date developed a passion for oratory

\* Cn. Nævius died towards 202 B.C.

† T. Lucretius Carus, 95—51 B.C.

‡ Valerius Catullus, 87—47 B.C.

amongst the Romans. With the Elder Cato the history of Latin oratory begins. But it was in Gaius Gracchus (whose brother, Tiberius, had also no small power of eloquence) that the first Roman orator was found. M. Antonius, the first advocate, and L. Licinius Crassus were, in Cicero's judgment, the Demosthenes and Hyperides of Rome. Hortensius was classed by Cicero in the first rank for mere mastery in the art of speaking. But Cicero<sup>\*</sup> himself surpassed them all, and his name alone would suffice to render Roman oratory illustrious. As an orator on business matters or on political questions; as an advocate, whether pleading for Milo, for Sestius, or against Verres; whether startling Catiline with his terrible indictment, whether he discussed points of law, or dwelt on the great interests of the republic, as he launched his Philippics against Antonius, Cicero is an orator for abundance, ease, and perfection of language not easy to surpass even in Greece, not to be approached at Rome. When compared, however, not only with Demosthenes, but even with Æschines, Cicero is seen to be diffuse, and his masterpiece, the "Second Philippic," is not to be named beside the "De Coronâ."

As a philosopher Cicero's works were extensive rather than profound. He helped himself from the stores of Greek philosophy and served them up in Ciceronian form, confident that he improved the style if he added little to the substance. His "Academics," his "De Naturâ Deorum," "De Finibus," and "De Officiis," are his chief works in this sphere. His letters "Ad Familiares," and those to Atticus, are charming revelations of Roman home-life and social relations.

*History; Nepos, Sallust, Cæsar.*—We know little of the works of the earlier annalists of Rome. Cornelius Nepos, a contemporary of Catullus, wrote much, and we have from his hand large fragments of the history of illustrious men. Of these the life of Atticus, Cicero's friend, is most interesting. As an historian Julius Cæsar† stands alone among the men of his time. His "Commentaries," a book which breathes the life of the camp and battle-field, is remarkable for its

\* Marcus Tullius Cicero, born at Arpinum 106 B.C.; put to death by order of Marcus Antonius, 43 B.C.

† C. Julius Cæsar, 100—44 B.C.

admirable style. The "Commentaries" were written during seven years, in the intervals of his campaigns, with an ease and rapidity which astonished the writer's friends. The narrative is terse, clear, free from all ornament. Cæsar had no book to set before him as a model, and this enhances his merit; he did perfectly a work that had never been done before. He was absolutely without the ordinary Roman prejudices, and evidently recorded exactly what he saw. The narrative of the Civil Wars is less interesting than of the Gallic Wars, but the style is more animated and free. Hirtius, who continued the work of Cæsar, has to a great extent caught his leader's style, though there is not the same coherence in the marshalling of events and rather more elaboration in the language.

Sallust,\* expelled from the Senate and forced to retire into private life when still young, nominally because of his immorality, devoted himself to history. A calculated brevity, bordering on abruptness, distinguishes his style. His chief works which have come down to us are the "Jugurtha" and the "Catiline," works whose titles describe their contents. Sallust, first of Latin writers, modelled his style on a single Greek writer, Thucydides, and made picturesqueness and strength his object, not without occasional striking success.

*The Augustan Age.*—Though Lucretius and Catullus in poetry, and Cæsar and Cicero in prose, had adorned the pre-Augustan age, yet the honour paid to Augustus under the title by which his period of literature is known, was justified by the influence exercised over literature by the re-establishment of peace and the completion of the mighty fabric of the Roman empire. Poets sprang up who celebrated the national expansion, and historians who searched out its long elaboration in the annals of the past. Men of letters were no longer depressed by feeling that the great struggles of actual life were of more importance than they. The suppression of political activity, the peace that reigned at the heart of the vast empire, encouraged the devotion of energies, which in former days would have been given to affairs, to literary produc-

\* C. Sallustius Crispus, 86—34 B.C.

tion. Latin literature attained perfection at the moment when the empire reached its greatest limit, when the majestic world-dominion was clearly established.

*History: Livy.\**—Livy was born at Patavium, 59 B.C. He was about thirty-two when he began his great work, the "Annals and History of Rome," extending from its foundation to the death of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, in 9 B.C. The Annals consisted of one hundred and forty-two books, of which thirty-five have come down to us; but of all, except two, we possess epitomes of later date but apparently of trustworthy composition. The first and third decades of Livy are his masterpieces. His pictures of national life are fuller and clearer than those of any other Roman historian. Whatever mistakes he makes in his facts his atmosphere and scenery are lifelike. Livy's style is copious and even at times verbose, and he is certainly less than critical in his acceptance of traditions and in his naïve absence of even an attempt at verifying reports which it was within his power to verify. For instance, Livy notes that Licinius Macer appealed to the authority of the "Linen Books," containing lists of magistrates, in the temple of Moneta; but he never thinks of consulting them himself, even when the authors who appeal to them differ as to what the books say.

*Epic Poetry: Virgil.†*—Virgil is admittedly the great Latin poet. There is more freshness and strength in Lucretius, more originality and passion in Catullus, but neither, like Virgil, maintains the poet's vision of the world and the great style. He was born near Mantua, at Andes, a little village close to the Mincio. His parents were well-to-do farmers, and were able to send him to Rome and Naples for education. From the first, philosophy interested him, though he was eclectic in his views, and took his psychology from Plato as he took his meteorology from Epicurus. He was early influenced by the works of Lucretius, and the influence of Theocritus is fresh and strong in the "Bucolics." The "Bucolics," if not Virgil's first attempt in verse, were certainly an early work. They

\* T. Livius, 59 B.C.—17 A.D.

† P. Vergilius Maro, 70—19 B.C.



were probably due to the brief practical activity of Virgil's life, when his farm at Andes was confiscated and he appealed to Octavius for redress. The "Georgics," the glorification of the primitive life as Virgil had seen it on his Mantuan farm, and elsewhere, are beyond question Virgil's best work. The subject exactly suited his tastes and was thoroughly within his mastery. There is a freshness of expression taken directly from life in the "Georgics" that is missing in the more ambitious "Æneid." In the "Æneid" Virgil depended on his reading rather than on his personal experience, and the result is a want of reality, a sense of elaboration and artificiality which is emphasized by the comparison, not to be escaped, with the greater work of Homer. It must, however, be remembered that the fourth book of the *Æneid* is perhaps the greatest of ancient love poems, and the most prominent example of that power in romance, which with a certain mysticism and a genuine love of nature, were the characteristics of Virgil's mind. Sweetness and dignity are the distinctive notes of his style.

*Lyrical and Narrative Poetry: Horace, Ovid, &c.*—Horace,\* son of a freeman of Venusia, who was proud of his powers, was educated at Rome and Athens. After a brief experience of public life in the army of Brutus and Cassius, in which he showed less valour than discretion, he returned to find his property gone and himself penniless. Three years later he was introduced by Virgil to Mæcenas. Taken up by Mæcenas, he was soon raised to prosperity. So popular was he that Augustus himself was anxious to be his intimate friend. Horace did not embark on the vessel which carried his friend Virgil over the high seas of epic poetry. He mentally followed him, just as he had done in his voyage to Greece, but he won his laurels in a different direction. Like Virgil, Horace in his "Odes" sings of the country; but Horace sings, as a man of the world and of the town, about the labour of the fields. Virgil entered by sympathy into the life of the Italian peasant; Horace found greater delight in pleasant villas and groves, in drinking Falernian wine, in laughing or lightly philosophising whilst enjoying the peace and the

\* Q. Horatius Flaccus, 65 B.C.—8 A.D.

patronage of Augustus. Horace, in short, might be compared with Moore, as Virgil might perhaps be with Tennyson.

Horace is a supple, amiable, practical poet; a living man, not ashamed of his appetites and impulses, he always pleases, awakens thought even while he enlivens, and his wisdom, although a little egotistical, is not less enjoyable because he is so communicative about his life, as if he were a fortunate and optimistic forerunner of Rousseau. Horace was also a satirist, never very severe, but keen, witty, and biting. If great subjects were beyond his attainment, Horace, in his lessons of life, is not less remarkable for his good sense than for the wit that sparkles in every line. We discover from Horace that the poets of the Augustan age formed a sort of mutual admiration society. In this Horace was a new Alcæus, Propertius a new Callimachus, Tibullus a new Mimnermus. Horace's chief works are the Odes and the Satires.

Ovid,\* born at Sulmo, educated as a pleader at home, and afterwards when he had taken to poetry, at Athens, is a very different figure. He was self-possessed and self-conscious, a water-drinker, and a "ladies' man," as the office existed at that day, and was of little, if any, less ability than Horace, but morally altogether inferior. An early and certainly his best work is "The Letters of the Heroines," which have held their place as among the permanent works of the Augustan age. The style and metre of this work is masterly. The "Amores," which is somewhat inferior, is a complete handbook of erotic philosophy, as it was understood in the materialistic world of Rome. Ovid is always affecting to be enthusiastic; always posing, he is never deeply moved himself, and never moves others. The "Metamorphoses," and the "Fasti," are the more solid works of the poet's manhood. The "Metamorphoses" is a brilliant and "romantic" work. The love of the picturesque, the attention to detail, the word-painting, are all what we are accustomed to regard as modern.

Tibullus,† a man of equestrian family, a contemporary of Ovid, is the first Latin writer in whom genuine delicacy in the sentiment of

\* P. Ovidius Naso, 43 B.C.—18 A.D.

† Albius Tibullus, 54—18 B.C.

love has a place. He is a lover of retirement, of the country life, of simple piety. He is the one undoubting believer in the Gods among the poets of the age. He is convinced that public life is valueless, and that the true life is to be found in the heart and in the home. A tender air of sadness breathes in his Elegiacs, which are the work of a poet of considerable power and of remarkable originality. His great patron was Messalla, his friendship for whom holds his heart on an equality with his love for Delia. Propertius,\* a native of Umbria, has more warmth and movement, but he is less original than Tibullus. He translated much with little change from Callimachus. He is remarkable for the great vigour of his pentameters. He sings love, the love of Cynthia, passionate love with more heat, but without any of the delicacy of Tibullus—a love which seems to have wrecked his life and frittered away his powers.

*Latin Literature in the two first centuries of the Empire: Juvenal, Lucan, Tacitus, &c.*—The great impulse given to the literary movement continued after Augustus. There was little satire of any importance in the Augustan age; in the Claudian and Flavian age there was little of importance but satire. Persius,† a Roman knight connected with the highest families, was born in Etruria, but received his education at Rome. He died at the early age of twenty-eight. His tone is sharper and his temper harder than the tone and temper of Horace. He is a severe satirist. His style is deliberately obscure, and he is valued rather for his promise than his achievement.

Juvenal,‡ whose date it is difficult to fix exactly, probably wrote under Domitian and Nero, and in the first year of the reign of Trajan. It is possible also that after an interval he wrote again, under Hadrian. He was employed up to middle life in declaiming, and every satire, full of finished rhetoric, bears marks of his early calling. He wrote in hexameters. Juvenal's savage strength of satire lashed the vices of his time with matchless power; but we suspect him of exaggeration when we read the sixth satire, and remember that its author was a contemporary of such admirable

\* Sex. A. Propertius, born about 51 B.C.

† A. Persius Flaccus, 34 A.D.—62 A.D.

‡ D. Junius Juvenalis, flourished probably about 100 A.D.

characters as Pliny the younger and his charming wife Calpurnia. There is also a vividness of detail in dealing with the worst subjects that makes the satirist's moral sincerity by no means certain. The extant satires are sixteen in number; but the authorship of the last fragment is doubtful.

Martial,\* a contemporary of Juvenal, wrote under Titus and Domitian, and was the most popular author of his time. His epigrams are distinguished by overflowing wit and wonderful command of language. His epitaphs on children are generally pathetic. The moral turpitude of much of his writing is such as to make it practically unreadable.

Lucan,† a native of Corduba in Spain, was son of a brother of M. Seneca the philosopher. He was educated with every advantage that wealth could obtain at Rome. His powers developed early. Though cut off by a violent death while a very young man, his part in the conspiracy of Piso having been discovered, he left the "Pharsalia," which has come down to us, a long epic poem on the struggle between Pompeius and Cæsar. The contrast between Lucan's high ideal of freedom and dignity, and his actual life of ostentation and indulgence in the Rome ruled over by Nero, partly explains the bitterness and ferocity of his attacks on the state of the empire. But if often extravagant he is almost always full of intensity and power, and there is an earnestness and marvellous rhetorical vigour in all his writing which have made the "Pharsalia" famous in spite of its faults.

Tacitus‡ was brought up to the bar, and attained such reputation as an orator that he was appointed by the Senate to conduct an important prosecution. His earliest work is the "Dialogue on Oratory," in which already it is plain how deeply he felt the ill effects of the Empire on Roman life. The style is much easier and less condensed than that which distinguishes his later works. The "Agricola," an account of the deeds of his father-in-law, and the "Germany," are written in the style of his maturity. The History, written before the Annals, comprised the period between the second

\* M. Valerius Martialis, born about 43 A.D.

† M. Annæus Lucanus, 39—65 A.D.

‡ C. Cornelius Tacitus, somewhere about 60—120 A.D.

consulship of Galba, 68 A.D., and the death of Domitian, 96 A.D. Only four books are extant, and part of the fifth, which goes no farther than the opening of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, and the war of Civilis in Germany. The Annals commence with the death of Augustus and go up to the death of Nero, but a portion is lost. His style, at times concise even to obscurity, is often brilliant and epigrammatic in the highest degree; endless variety, richness of suggestion, and throughout a proud reserve of strength, a severe self-repression, are its characteristics. It is moreover penetrated and inspired by a white-hot hate of the Empire.

Suetonius,\* a friend of the younger Pliny, practised as an advocate at Rome under Trajan. He was afterwards appointed by Hadrian to be his private secretary. His "Lives of the Cæsars," his principal work, is a series of gossip biographies. The first six are admirably done; the last six fall off seriously. His candour or talkativeness is the chief merit. A comparison of his "Life of Tiberius" with the same life as drawn by Tacitus is instructive. He is evidently perfectly neutral, and when he differs from Tacitus his statements deserve consideration. His style is terse and plain, but his work has often the interest of a novel. The Compendium of Florus, a native of Tarraco, the modern Tarragona, is one of the last works of the literary movement of the second century. It deals with the foreign wars down to Cæsar's conquest of Gaul, and the civil strife from the days of the Gracchi to the battle of Actium.

*Rhetoric: The Senecas, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger.*—The intellectual activity of the close of the Augustan age took the form of declamation. Of this activity the writings of the elder Seneca,† a Spanish professor of rhetoric, give us a fairly complete account. In these declamations the form was everything, the substance of no consequence. His son, L. Annæus Seneca, the philosopher, born at Corduba a few years B.C., soon gained distinction for his rhetorical powers at Rome.‡ He applied the art of a consummate rhetorician to tragedies, which he imitated from the Greek. He brought declamation into literature, and he also brought

\* C. Suetonius Tranquillus, born 70 A.D.

† M. Annæus Seneca, 52 B.C.—32 A.D.

‡ L. Annæus Seneca, 3 B.C.—65 A.D.

philosophy. His philosophy was an eclectic stoicism, and his best works were composed on questions of morals, on which he not seldom rises to a high level of truth and practical wisdom. The enormous fortune he amassed, even more than his acquiescence in Nero's crimes, largely injures the genuine ring of his often admirable moral maxims. His style is clear and forcible. His plays have no organic framework or moving life, but the dialogue is frequently brilliant.

Quintilian \* practised at the Roman bar, but gained his reputation chiefly as a teacher of eloquence, in which he had unrivalled success. His great rhetorical work on "The Education of an Orator," from boyhood to maturity, included a complete scheme for the training of an accomplished public speaker. Its sound judgment, admirable taste, and extensive knowledge gave his work a deservedly high reputation, and the history of Roman literature in the tenth book is interesting and well adapted to its purpose. Quintilian was, like Seneca, a Spaniard, a native of Calagurris (Calahorra).

Pliny the Younger, † son of Plinia, sister of the elder Pliny, was a native of Upper Italy. He studied under Quintilian, and had a considerable reputation as an orator. The only speech of his which has lived is the panegyric on Trajan. He invited a few friends to hear it, and it took him three days to recite. It is a cleverly written but tedious and fulsome composition. His correspondence with Trajan is of far more interest and value. The letters are short, natural, and pleasing. The nine books of private letters are really admirable, both as specimens of elaborate epistolary style and as a repertory of what was best in cultivated and decent Roman family life at the time.

*The Jurists.*—The highest legal authorities of their day, and the heads of the two legal schools to which most of the great jurists belonged, were Antistius Labeo and C. Ateius Capito, the former a republican, disliked by Augustus, the latter the obsequious flatterer of that emperor. Gaius, a celebrated Roman jurist in the reigns of Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius, deserves the

\* M. Fabius Quintilianus, 40—118 A.D.

† C. Plinius Cocilius Secundus, born 62 A.D.

title of one of the chief luminaries of Roman law. One of his most celebrated works, his "Elements of Law," or "Institutions," served afterwards as a model for the "Institutions" of Justinian.

In the reign of Hadrian, Salvius Julianus, Prætor, A.D. 121, collated the whole body of Roman equity, when he drew up the Perpetual Edict, and his work, sanctioned by the Emperor and the Senate, was made binding on all his successors. Salvius Julianus belonged to the liberal and monarchical school of jurists who were direct legal descendants of C. Ateius Capito. In the reign of Septimus Severus, Papinian made a lasting reputation not only for high integrity but also for legal knowledge and acumen. His work was continued by his contemporaries, Julius Paulus and Domitius Ulpianus, both famous lawyers, who added to the solidity and brilliancy of the majestic edifice of Roman law. The excerpts from Paulus and Ulpian together make up half the Digest of Justinian, Emperor of Constantinople, A.D. 527—565, in whose reign and by whose order a perfect system of written legislation was established for all the Empire, comprised in two great collections: the first, the collection of the Imperial constitutions, called the Codex; the second, the excerpts from the jurists, called the Digesta, or Digest. There was also a treatise for elementary teaching, the Institutiones, chiefly based on the "Institutiones" of Gaius.

*The First Encyclopædia: Pliny the Elder.*—Pliny the Elder,\* uncle to the younger Pliny, was a man of prodigious knowledge and unsurpassed industry. His "Historia Naturalis," which is the only work of his that has come down to us, comprises zoology, astronomy, meteorology, geography, mineralogy, botany, medicine—in short, it is a compendium of information, collected from about two thousand volumes, of knowledge of the phenomena of nature as then known, and also of human arts, inventions, and institutions. Pliny was not only a student but a man of affairs; but the achievements of his pen are more interesting as monuments of gigantic industry than for themselves, since he was neither scientific in his arrangement nor judicious in his selection of his

\* C. Plinius Secundus, 23—79 A.D.

materials. Most of our knowledge of the history of ancient art is based on Pliny's hasty notes. He left one hundred and sixty rolls of extracts written on both sides in a small hand, and even then so valuable that he had been offered a sum equivalent to £8,000 or £4,000 for them.

*The Novelists : Petronius, Apuleius.*—The criticism of contemporary Roman life under the empire was not confined to the satirists, who, like Juvenal, used verse alone. In the first century Petronius, known as the *arbiter*, the judge, or director of the imperial pleasures, composed a work which in some respects anticipates the method of Le Sage, for Encolpius has points of resemblance to Gil Blas. This romance, entitled *Petronii Arbitri Satiricon*, is written in prose, interspersed with verse. The style of the prose is simple and unpretentious, but a little monotonous. The adventures of Encolpius in the South of Italy are the theme, and they certainly give a vivid idea of the corruption of the Empire. The supper of Trimalchio contains at once the most decent and the most vigorously drawn pictures in the whole work. What has been called "la comédie humaine" is, as regards the life of the rich freedmen of Campania, sketched with sympathy and humour, and Trimalchio remains perhaps the best of the very few snobs of Roman literature. In the second century, L. Apuleius, born in Africa, but a traveller over the Roman world, and initiated into most of the mysteries of the Pagan religion, wrote his celebrated *Metamorphoses*, an autobiography of one Lucius, who went on his travels and sowed his wild oats, and having been turned into an ass by a waiting-woman, saw in this disguise a great many curious love adventures, travelled with the priests of Cybele, and was finally delivered by the clemency of Isis through the instrumentality of her chief priest. There is a vein of mysticism throughout the *Metamorphoses* which is seen most plainly in the allegorical tale of Cupid and Psyche. The *Metamorphoses* give a sufficiently striking picture of the state of the country parts of the Roman empire, and the adventures of Lucius in various scenes of low life are more comic, while much less indecent than the adventures of Encolpius in the novel of Petronius.



*The Arts of Rome: Architecture.*—Of earlier architecture at Rome the most remarkable features were the aqueducts which supplied the city with water from distinct sources. Two were built under the Republic, the Aqua Appia, 312 B.C., and the Anio Vetus, 275 B.C., but the most magnificent works of this kind were begun under the empire—the Aqua Claudia, A.D. 86, and the Anio Nova, A.D. 50.

During the last century of the Republic domestic architecture made great progress. The houses of Crassus and Lepidus were accounted among the most magnificent. Knowledge of Egypt and the East gave fresh impulse to magnificence in architecture, and the gardens of Lucullus and Sallust were among the most magnificent ornaments of the city. Cæsar was the first to commence the enlargement of the Forum and public buildings. His plans were frustrated by his death, but the idea of embellishing and enlarging the city remained fruitful in the minds of his successors.

Augustus carried out in a city that had become the capital of the world those great architectural improvements which enabled him to boast that he “found the city of brick and left it of marble.” He enriched it with numerous temples, but was himself content with a modest mansion upon the Palatine. This mansion was enlarged by Tiberius and Caligula, and swallowed up in the extravagance of the plans of Nero. After the great fire which destroyed old Rome under Nero, that monarch, with the help of the accomplished architects Severus and Celer, set about rebuilding it in the style of an Eastern city. The avenues of Rome were widened and straightened, the great blocks of houses were surrounded by colonnades, the brickwork was faced with stone, and the improvements were crowned by the completion of the Golden House, in which the Emperor was at last satisfied that he was lodged as a man should be.

From this time forward the architectural improvements of the city were planned for the use of the people. Architecture had formerly been employed to magnify the State or the chief representative of the State, the Emperor, but the Flavian dynasty began

to use it to conciliate the sovereign people. To satisfy the people Nerva and Trajan added to the forums, and the forum of Trajan was regarded as the grandest monument of the city. The fashion of erecting monumental columns began with Trajan, and was continued by the Antonines. The column of Trajan is the most celebrated. The colossal mausoleum or tomb of Hadrian, called Hadrian's Mole, was another chief monument of the city. Another mode of conciliating the people was the building of thermæ, or public baths, of great magnificence and open to all. The baths of Titus and the Antonines, commonly ascribed to Antoninus Caracalla, were among the largest. In those of Caracalla there were 1,600 marble benches. These baths contained not merely baths but ~~garden~~, porticoes, libraries, fountains, trees, and the open spaces of a public park.

The Romans displayed even more luxury in their amphitheatres than in their thermæ, and these monuments are still more characteristic of the imperial city. The Coliseum, the gigantic amphitheatre commenced by Vespasian and finished by Titus A.D. 80, displayed from the outside four storeys placed one above the other, which were supported and ornamented with columns. A *velarium*, or awning, of wool or more costly materials was spread from summit to summit of the amphitheatre above the 87,000 spectators who occupied the seats. The circular benches rested upon immense interior arches, and Cæsar's seat and the places reserved for the ambassadors, senators, and vestals were easily distinguished. The arena, so called from its being covered with sand to absorb the blood, was oval, and surrounded by a wall about fifteen feet high. Here the gladiators fought after the *editor* (the person who exhibited the show) had examined the weapons to see that they were sharp. When a gladiator was wounded and overpowered, the people cried "*hoc habet*" or "*habet*," and his fate depended on the people, who turned down their thumbs if they wished him spared, but turned up their thumbs if they wished him killed. Shows of wild beasts (*venationes*) were also given, and as early as 58 B.C. the elephants, lions, panthers, and bears which fought with one another or with the *bestiarii* (wild-beast fighters) were varied by specimens of the hippo-

potamus and the crocodile; while in the great exhibition of wild beasts given by Julius Cæsar, B.C. 45, the show lasted five days, and included giraffes, then for the first time seen at Rome. Probus gave sports



Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus.

open to the people, when 1,000 ostriches, 1,000 stags, 1,000 boars, 1,000 deer, and numbers of wild goats and other animals were exhi-

bited ; and the more savage animals which next day fought the bestiarii included 200 lions and lionesses, 200 leopards, and 800 bears. Representations of sea-fights were at times given, and sufficient water introduced into the amphitheatre to float ships. Three thousand men were engaged in a sea-fight exhibited by Titus : a fact which gives us some idea of the magnificence of these displays at Rome.

The principle of the true arch was known to the Roman architects from the earliest period, and is probably of Etruscan origin. The triumphal arch was a structure peculiar to the Romans. Twenty-one are recorded at Rome, of which five still remain. Amongst those that remain may be noted the arch of Titus and that of Septimius Severus. The former, at the foot of the Palatine, was dedicated by Domitian to his brother Titus, in memory of the taking of Jerusalem. The bas-reliefs represent the spoils of Jerusalem, and the arch is a model of its kind. The arch of Septimius Severus was erected by the Senate at the commencement of the third century, in honour of Septimius Severus and of his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, after his conquest of the Parthians and Arabians. In every part of the Roman world remain the architectural monuments of the conquering people. Aqueducts, amphitheatres, bridges, arches, high roads, still in perfect preservation, attest the magnificence of their plans and the solidity of their execution.

*Sculpture.*—The Romans were rather imitators of Greek sculpture than workers in the art. Statues were plentiful at Rome, but they were Greek statues ; the famous groups of the Laocoon and the Farnesian Bull were, according to Pliny, the work of Rhodian artists. Historians have not transmitted to us the names of Roman sculptors, but still the museums of Europe are filled with Roman statues. Bronze statues of illustrious persons were erected in the Forum by the Senate and the people, and also in other parts of Rome ; in the time of Nero, for instance, Zenodorus, a founder of bronze statues, was commissioned by Nero to execute a statue 110 feet high representing the Emperor as the sun.

The reign of Hadrian initiated a fresh development in art, and the grounds of his great villa near Tivoli have been found to be

richer in works of art than any other place in Italy. Many of the statues were of the Emperor's favourite Antinous, and the bust of Antinous is one of the finest works of this period. After the time of the Antonines sculpture rapidly declined, and by the time of Severus the bas reliefs had scarcely any artistic merit.

*Painting.*—In painting as in sculpture the Romans were utterly inferior to the Greeks. Three periods may be noted in the art of painting at Rome. The first period may be dated from the conquest of Greece to the time of Augustus, and the artists were chiefly Greeks. The second from the time of Augustus to Diocletian, during which the majority of Roman works of art were produced. The third the period of the complete decay of art which followed the decay of the empire. At the beginning of the second period there were a distinct class of portrait painters at Rome. Cæsar was a great patron of painting, and spent large sums upon pictures; so, in their turn, did Agrippa and Augustus. Mosaic, however, superseded painting, and admirable mosaic work has been found at Pompeii, of which the most celebrated is supposed to represent the battle of Issus.

*The Empire at the end of the Second Century.*—The Roman people had been gradually falling into a state of moral decrepitude, which went on simultaneously with the decline of the Empire. Their old vigour, tenacity, and strength were exhausted; widespread luxury, vice, and slavery—the great blot of ancient civilization—had helped the nation on its downward way. The old worship of the gods was dead. The multitude practically adored him who might bear the imperial dignity for the time being. A new religion, which had been quietly working for years, was gradually preparing to take the place of the old religion, effete or extinguished. The light of Christianity, the maker of modern civilization, began to dawn upon the Roman world.

THE END.



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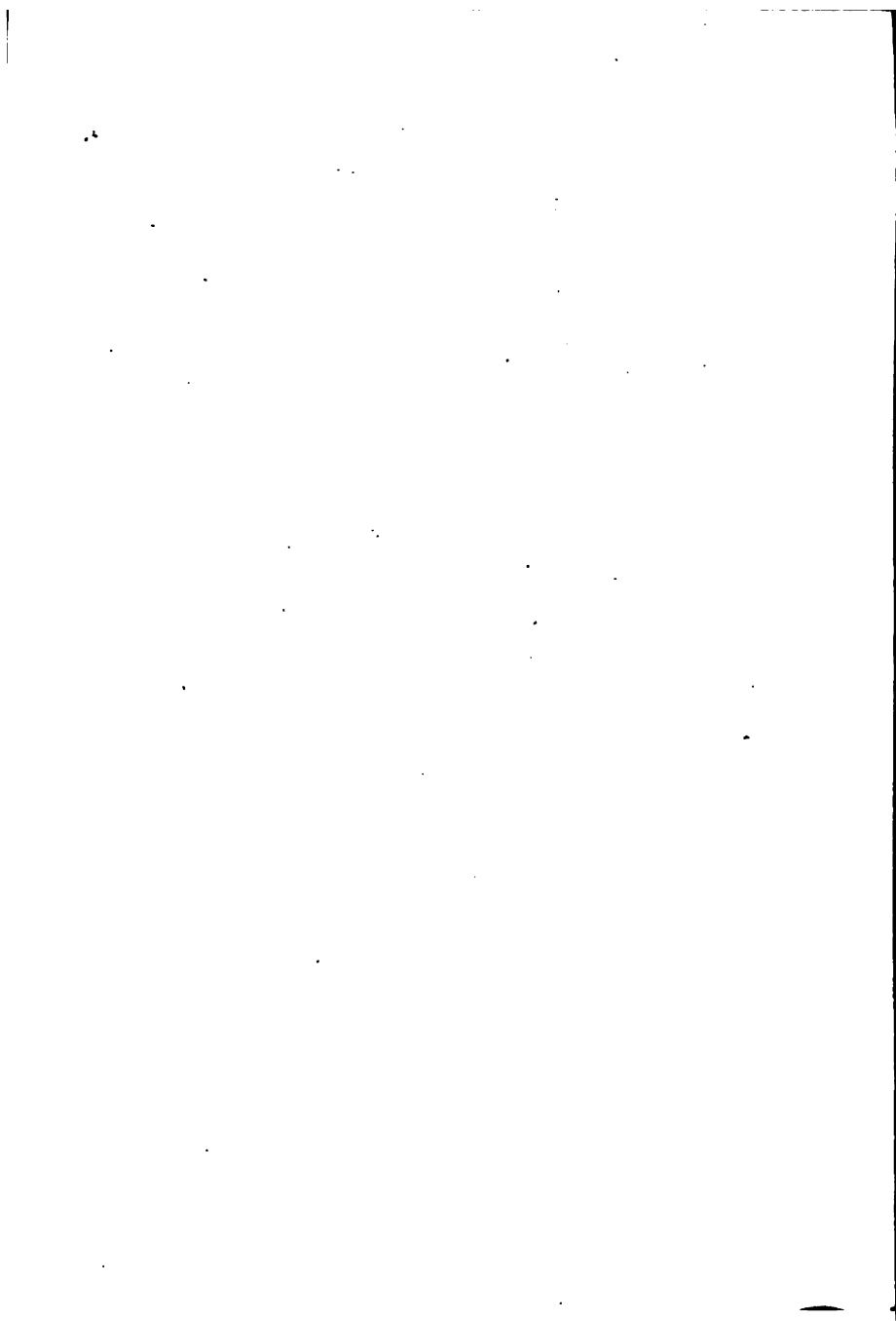
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